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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES & PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. VI.

A NEW EDITION.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS OF ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY, NEAT ENGRAVINGS, &c. ADAPTED TO THE WORK.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED BY JOHN PILLANS, JAMES'S COURT,
FOR THOMAS NELSON.

1820.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS, CONTINUED.

PLAN.

THIS nineteenth book contains three Articles. In the first, the history of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, is related; he reigned eleven years, and was dethroned in the year of the world 3836. The second Article goes on from the defeat of Perseus to the ruin of Corinth, which was taken and burned in the year of the world 3858, and includes something more than twenty-one years. The third Article contains the history of Syria, and that of Egypt, which are generally joined together. That of Syria continued almost an hundred years from Antiochus Eupator, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire; that is to say, from the year of the world 3840 to 3939. The history of Egypt includes also one hundred years, from the twentieth year of Ptolemæus Philometer, till the expulsion of Ptolemæus Auletes, that is, from the year of the world 3845 to the year 3946.

ARTICLE II.

THIS article includes the space of something more than twenty years, from the defeat of Perseus, to the taking and destruction of Corinth by Mummius, at which time Greece was reduced into a Roman province.

SECTION I.

ATTALUS COMES TO ROME TO CONGRATULATE THE ROMANS UPON THEIR SUCCESS IN MACEDONIA.

AMONGST the different embassies from kings and states [o], which came to Rome after the victory over Perseus, Attalus, Eumenes' brother, drew upon him [p], more than all others, the

o A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. p Polyb. Legat. xciii. Liv. l. xlv. n. 19, 20,

eyes and attention of the Romans. The ravages committed by the Asiatic Gauls in the kingdom of Pergamus, had laid Attalus under the necessity of going to Rome, to implore the republic's aid against those Barbarians. Another still more specious reason had obliged him to make that voyage. It was necessary to congratulate the Romans upon their last victory, and to receive the applauses he deserved for the part he had taken in the war against Perseus, and for having shared with them in all the dangers of it. He was received at Rome with all the marks of honour and amity that a prince could expect, who had proved, in the army in Macedonia, a constant and determined attachment for the Romans. He had a most honourable reception, and made his entrance into the city, attended by a very numerous train.

All these honours, the real cause of which he did not penetrate, made him conceive thoughts and hopes, which perhaps had never entered into his mind, if not suggested to him. The greatest part of the Romans had no longer any esteem or affection for Eumenes. His secret negotiations with Perseus, of which they had been apprized, made them believe that prince had never been heartily on their side, and that he only waited an occasion to declare against them. Full of this prejudice, some of the most distinguished Romans, in their private conversations with Attalus, advised him not to mention the business his brother had sent him to treat, but to speak solely of what related to himself. They gave him to understand, that the senate, to whom Eumenes was become suspected, and even odious, from his having appeared to waver between Perseus and the Romans, had thoughts of depriving him of part of his kingdom, and to give it to himself, upon whom they could rely as an assured friend, incapable of changing. We may perceive here the maxims of the Roman policy; and these detached lines may serve to unveil it upon other occasions, when more attentive to conceal itself.

The temptation was delicate to a prince, who, without doubt, did not want ambition, and who was not of a character to reject such pleasing hopes, when they presented themselves to him without being solicited. He listened therefore to these discourses and this proposal, and the rather, because they came from some of the principal persons of Rome, whose wisdom he esteemed, and whose probity he respected. The affair went so far, that he promised them to demand in the senate, that part of his brother's kingdom should be given to him.

Attalus had a physician in his train, called Stratius, whom Eumenes, suspecting his brother, had sent with him to Rome, to have an eye upon his conduct, and to recall him to his duty by good counsel, if he should happen to depart from it. Stratius had wit and penetration, and his manners were very insinuating, and well adapted to persuasion. Having either discovered, or learned from Attalus himself, the design that had been instilled into him, he took the advantage of some favourable moments to open himself to him. He represented, That the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of itself, and but very lately established, had subsisted, and been improved, solely by the union and good understanding of the brothers who possessed it: That only one of them, indeed, enjoyed the name of king, and wore the diadem; but that they all reigned in effect: That Eumenes, having no male issue, (for the son he had afterwards, and who succeeded him, was not then in being), he could leave his throne only to his next brother: That his right to the succession of the kingdom was therefore incontestible; and that, considering the age and infirmities of Eumenes, the time for such succession could not be very remote. And wherefore then should he anticipate and hasten, by a violent and criminal undertaking, what would soon happen in a just and natural manner? Did he desire to divide the kingdom with his brother, or to deprive him of it entirely? If he had only a part of it, both of them, weakened by such division, and exposed to the enterprises of their neighbours, might be equally undone in the consequence: That if he proposed to reign alone, what would become of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live as a private person, or send him, at his years, into banishment? or, in a word, would he cause him to be put to death? That he did not doubt, but such thoughts must give him horror: That not to speak of the fabulous accounts of the tragical effects of fraternal discord, the recent example of Perseus might remind him of them: That that unfortunate prince, who had torn the sceptre from his brother, by shedding his blood, pursued by the divine vengeance, had lately laid down the same sceptre at the feet of a victor, in the temple of Samothracia, and in a manner before the eyes, and by the order of the gods, who preside there, the witnesses and avengers of his guilt. That he was assured, the very persons who, less out of friendship for him than ill-will for Eumenes, gave him at present such pernicious counsels, would be the first to praise his tender and constant affection for his brother, if he continued

faithfully attached to him to the last. Stratius added the extreme danger to which Attalus would expose the kingdom of Pergamus in the present conjuncture, when the Gauls were preparing to invade it.

How unworthy was it of the Romans to kindle and blow up the fire of discord in this manner between brothers! Of what value must a sincere, prudent, and disinterested friend appear at such a time? What an advantage is it for a prince to give those who approach him the liberty of speaking freely and without reserve to him, and of being known by them in that light? The wise remonstrances of Stratius had their effect with Attalus. That prince, having been introduced into the senate, without speaking against his brother, or demanding a division of the kingdom of Pergamus, contented himself with congratulating the senate, in the name of Eumenes and his brothers, upon the victory gained in Macedonia. He modestly displayed the zeal and affection with which he had served in the war against Perseus. He desired, that they would send ambassadors to check the insolence of the Gauls, and to reduce them to their former state; and concluded with requesting, that the investiture of Ænus and Maronæa, cities of Thrace, might be given to him, which places had been conquered by Philip, father of Perseus, and the possession disputed with him by Eumenes.

The senate, imagining that Attalus would demand another audience, in order to speak in particular of his pretensions upon part of his brother's dominions, promised beforehand to send ambassadors according to his demand, and made the prince the usual presents. They promised besides to put him into possession of the two cities, as he desired. But when it was known that he had left Rome, the senate, offended to find that he had done nothing they expected from him, and not being able to be revenged upon him in any other manner, revoked the promise they had made him; and before the prince was out of Italy, declared Ænus and Maronæa free and independent cities. They sent, however, an embassy to the Gauls, at the head of which was P. Licinius; but with very different instructions from those demanded by Attalus. The Roman policy took off the mask entirely at this time, and showed an aspect very unlike the frankness and probity of their ancestors.

The senate some days [q] after gave audience to the Rho-

[q] Polyb. Legat. xcii.—xcix. c. et civ. Liv. l. xlv. n. 20.—25.

dians, which made a great noise. They were at first refused to be heard, as having rendered themselves unworthy of that honour by their conduct, and even a declaration of war against them was talked of. Rhodes, alarmed at it, sent two new deputies. Having obtained admittance to the senate with great difficulty, they appeared there as suppliants, dressed in mourning habits, and with their faces bathed in their tears. Astymedes spoke, and with a voice interrupted with sighs, took upon him the defence of his unfortunate country. He took great care not to show at first his desire to justify it. He knew, that it had justly incurred the anger of the Roman people; he confessed its faults; he called to mind the indiscreet embassy, which the insolent pride of the orator who spoke, had rendered still more criminal; but he begged the senate to make some difference between the entire body of the nation, and a few private persons disavowed by them, and whom they were ready to deliver up. He represented, that there was no republic nor city, that did not include some bad members. That after all, there were no other crimes objected to them but words; foolish indeed, rash, extravagant, which he confessed to be the characteristics and failings of his nation, but such as wise persons seldom lay much stress upon, or punish with exceeding rigour, no more than Jupiter aims his thunders at all that speak with little respect of his divinity. "But," said he, "the neutrality observed by us "in the late war, is looked upon as a certain proof of our en- "mity in regard to you. * Is there a tribunal in the world, "wherein the intention, when without effect, is punished as "the action itself? But let your severity be carried to that ex- "cess, at most the punishment can only fall on those who "have had this intention, and then the majority of us are in- "nocent. Admitting even that this neutrality and inaction "make us all criminal; ought the real services we have ren- "dered you, in the two preceding wars, to be deemed as "nothing, and will they not cover the omission imputed to "us in the last? Let Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus, bear "witness now in our cause. The voices of the two first will "certainly be for us, and absolve us; and, for the third, at "most, and in the severest sense, the sentence must appear "doubtful and uncertain. Can you then, according to this "state of the question, pass a fatal decree against Rhodes; for

* Neque moribus neque legibus ullius civitatis ita comparatum esse, ut si quis vellet inimicum perire, si nihil fecerit quo id fiat, capitis damnetur.—Liv.

" you are now upon the point of deciding, whether it shall " subsist any longer, or be entirely destroyed? You may de- " clare war against us; but not a single Rhodian will take up " arms against you. If you persist in your resentment, we " demand time to go and report our deputation at Rhodes, " and at that moment our whole city, men, women, and free " persons, will embark, with all our estates and effects; we " will abandon our household gods, as well public as private, " and come to Rome, where, after we have thrown our gold " and silver, and all we have, at your feet, we will deliver " up ourselves, our wives, and our children, to your discre- " tion. We will suffer here before your eyes, whatever you " shall think fit to inflict upon us. If Rhodes is condemned " to be plundered and set on fire, at least we shall spare our- " selves the sight of that calamity. You may, by your re- " solves, declare yourselves our enemies; but there is a secret " sense in the bottom of our hearts, that declares quite the " contrary, and assures us, that whatever hostilities you may " act against us, you will never find us otherwise than friends " and servants."

After this discourse, the deputies prostrated themselves upon the earth, and held out their hands towards the senators, with olive branches in them, to demand peace. When they were withdrawn, by order of the senate, they proceeded to vote upon the affair. All who had served in Macedonia in quality of consuls, prætors, or lieutenants, and who had most experienced their foolish pride and enmity to the Romans, were very much against them. M. Portius Cato, the celebrated censor, known by the severity of his character, which often rose to hardness of heart, was softened at this time in favour of the Rhodians, and spoke for them with great warmth and eloquence. Livy does not repeat his discourse, because it was then extant in a work of Cato's own, entitled, De Originibus, wherein he had inserted his own orations.

The world has reason to regret the loss of so valuable a collection. Aulus Gellius [r] has preserved some fragments of this discourse of Cato's; by which it appears, he made use of almost the same reasons with the ambassadors of Rhodes. I shall cite some passages of it at the bottom of the page, to assist the reader in knowing and distinguishing the manly and energetic style which characterized the Roman eloquence in

r Liv. l. vii. c. 6.

those ancient times, when more attention was had to the force of thoughts, than to the elegance of words.

Cato* begins his discourse by representing to the Romans, that they ought not to abandon themselves to the extravagance of excessive joy. That prosperity generally excites pride and insolence. That he apprehends, in the present case, they may form resolutions, which may draw some misfortune upon Rome, and cause the frivolous joy, to which they give themselves up, to vanish like a dream. "Adversity," says he, "in humbling the spirit, restores us to our "reason, and teaches us what is necessary to be done. Prosperity, on the contrary, hurries us in a manner out of our "way, by the joy it occasions, and makes us lose sight of the "measures, which a calm situation of mind would enable us "to discern and execute. It is therefore, fathers, I am absolutely of opinion, that we should defer the decision of this "affair, till, having recovered from the violent emotions of our "joy, we may be masters of ourselves, and capable of deliberating with more maturity." He adds, "That he indeed believes the Rhodians were far from desiring that the "Romans should have conquered Perseus; but that they had "such sentiments in common with all other states; sentiments which did not proceed from their enmity to the Romans, but from the love of their own liberty; for which "they had just cause to fear, when there should be none in a "condition to dispute empire with us, and we should become "absolute masters of all nations. For the rest, the Rhodians "did not aid Perseus. Their whole† crime, by the consent "of their most violent accusers, is to have intended to declare war against us. But how long has the will, the intention only, been a crime? Is there any one amongst us, "that would be willing to subject himself to this rule? For my

* Scio solere pluresque hominibus rebus secundis atque prolixis atque prosperis animum excellere, superbiam atque ferociam augescere atque crescere: quod mihi nunc magnæ curæ est, quia hæc res tam secunde processit, nequid in consulendo adversi eveniat, quod nostras secundas res confutet; neve hæc lætitia nimis luxuriose eveniat. Adversæ res se domant, et docent quid opus sit facto; secundæ res lætitia transversum trudere solent a recte consulendo atque intelligendo. Quo majore opere edico suadeoque uti hæc res aliquot dies proferatur, dum ex tanto gaudio in potestatem nostram redeamus.

† Qui acerrime adversus eos dicet, ita dicit; hostes voluisse fieri. Et quis tandem est nostrum, qui, quod ad sense attinent, æquum censeat quempiam pœnas dare ob eam rem, quod arguatur male facere voluisse? nemo opinor; nam ego, quod ad me attinet, nolim.

" part, I am sure I would not. The * Rhodians, it is said, " are proud. I should be very sorry that my children could " justly make me that reproach. But, pray, in what does " their pride affect us? Would it become us to make it a " crime in them to be prouder than we are?"

The opinion of so grave and venerable a senator as Cato, prevented a war against the Rhodians. The answer given them, did not declare them enemies, nor treat them as allies; but continued them in suspence They were ordered to remove their governors from the cities of Lycia and Caria. Those provinces were given up to them after the defeat of Antiochus, and now taken from them by way of punishment. They were ordered also to evacuate Caunus and Stratonice. They had bought the first for two hundred talents, about twenty-five thousand pounds, of Ptolemy's general, and the second had been given them by Antiochus and Seleucus; they drew from those two cities an annual revenue of one hundred and twenty talents, or fifteen thousand pounds. At the same time, the senate granted the island of Delos an exemption from customs, which considerably diminished the revenues of the Rhodians. For, instead of a million of drachms, about twenty-five thousand pounds Sterling, to which the revenue from those customs amounted before, it paid afterwards only one hundred and fifty thousand, about three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds Sterling.

The senate's answer, having dispelled at Rhodes the fear that the Romans would take arms against the republic, made all other evils appear light, as it is common for the expectation of great misfortunes to make people next to insensible of small ones. How hard soever those orders were, they submitted to them, and put them in immediate execution. They decreed, at the same time, a crown of gold to the Romans, of the value of † ten thousand pieces of gold, and chose their admiral Theodotus to present it. He had orders to solicit the alliance of the Romans. The Rhodians had not demanded it till then, though for almost one hundred and forty years they had shared in the most glorious expeditions of that republic; which was a fetch of their politics. They were not for hampering their liberty with the chains of oaths and trea-

* Rhodienses superbos esse aiunt, ad objectantes quod mihi a liberis meis minime deci velim. Sint sane superbi. Quid id ad nos attinet? Idne irascimini, siquis superbior est quam nos?

† This might amount to about six thousand pounds, reckoning the piece of gold (χρυσῆς) at twelve shillings or thereabouts.

ties; that continuing free, and their own masters, they might either aid the kings in distress, or be supported by them upon occasion. In the present conjuncture, they earnestly demanded to be admitted as allies; not to secure themselves against other powers, for they were in no apprehensions of any besides the Romans; but to remove, by that change, all suspicions that might have been conceived to the prejudice of their republic. The alliance was not, however, granted them at this time. They did not obtain it till the following year; nor then, without long and warm solicitations. Tiberius Gracchus, at his return from Asia, whither he had been sent in quality of commissioner, to examine into its condition, was of great service to them upon this occasion. He declared that the Rhodians had punctually obeyed the senate's orders, and had condemned the partisans of Perseus to death. After so favourable a report, the Rhodians were admitted into the alliance of the Roman people.

I have before observed,[s] that the Ætolians had presented themselves before Paulus Æmilius in mourning habits, at his return from his expedition into Greece, and that he had given them audience at Amphipolis. The subject of their complaints was, that Lycischus and Tisippus, whom the credit of the Romans, to whose interests they were devoted, rendered very powerful in Ætolia, had surrounded the senate with soldiers, lent them by Bibius, who commanded in the province for the Romans; that they had put to death five hundred and fifty of the principal persons of the nation, whose sole crime was their having seemed to favour Perseus; that a great number of others had been sent into banishment, and that the estates both of the one and the other had been abandoned to their accusers. The inquiry was confined to knowing, not on which side the injustice and violence had been committed, but whether the parties concerned had been for Perseus or the Romans. The murderers were acquitted. The dead were declared to have been killed, and the exiles to have been banished, justly. Bibius only was condemned for having lent his aid in this bloody execution: but why condemned, if it was just? or, if not, why were those acquitted, who had been the principal authors of it?

This sentence gave great terror to all who had expressed any inclination for Perseus, and exceedingly increased the pride and insolence of the partisans of Rome. The principal

s Liv. l. xlv. n. 28.—32.

persons of each city were divided into three factions. The one were entirely devoted to the Romans; others adhered to the party of the kings; both making their court to their protectors by abject flatteries, and thereby rendering themselves powerful in their cities, which they held in an oppressive subjection. A third kind of citizens, in opposition to the other two, observed a kind of medium, neither taking part with the Romans nor the kings; but publicly asserting the defence of their laws and liberty. The latter, at bottom, were much esteemed and beloved in their several cities; but were in no authority. All offices, embassies, honours, and rewards, were conferred solely upon those who espoused the Roman interest, after the defeat of Perseus; and they employed their credit in utterly destroying all those who differed from themselves in opinion.

In this view they repaired in great numbers, from all parts of Greece, to the ten commissioners, appointed by the senate to regulate affairs. They gave them to understand, that besides those who had declared publicly for Perseus, there were abundance of others, secretly the enemies of Rome, who, under the colour of asserting liberty, influenced the whole people against them, and that those cities would never continue quiet, and perfectly subject to the Romans, unless, after the contrary party were entirely reduced, the authority of those, who had only the interest of the commonwealth at heart, was fully established. The ten commissioners perfectly relished those reasons, and made them the rule of their conduct. What justice could be expected from an assembly that was determined to consider, and treat all as criminals, who were not of the Roman party, and to reward all who should declare themselves their accusers and enemies, with abundant graces and favours? We see here to what lengths ambition and the lust of empire carry mankind. They make men blind to all sense of duty and decency, and induce them to sacrifice justice, as well as every thing else, when it opposes their views. The virtue of the Pagans was but a weak, and very fluctuating principle.

That appears evidently upon this occasion. The Roman general, to whom a list had been given of all those who were suspected, ordered them to attend him from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, and to follow him to Rome, there to make their defence. Commissioners were sent also into Asia, in order to take informations against such as, in public or private, had favoured Perseus.

Of all the small states of Greece [t], none gave the Roman republic so much umbrage as the Achæan league, which till then had continued formidable by the number and valour of their troops, by the ability of their generals, and, above all, by the union that reigned between all the cities of which it was composed. The Romans, jealous of a power that might prove an obstacle to their ambitious designs, especially if they should join the king of Macedonia, or the king of Syria, spared no pains to weaken it, by introducing divisions, and gaining creatures, whom they raised by their credit to all employments, and by whose means they decided in all the assemblies of the league. We have seen what passed in the affair of the Spartan exiles. But it was in the conjuncture we now speak of, the Romans gave the last stroke to their liberty.

After the defeat of Perseus, Callicrates, to complete with the Romans, to whom he had sold himself, the ruin of the partisans of liberty, whom he looked upon as his enemies, had the boldness to accuse by name all those to the ten commissioners, whom he suspected to have had any inclination to support Perseus. They did not think it would suffice to write to the Achæans, as they had done to other states, that they should send such of their citizens to Rome, as were accused of having favoured Perseus: but they sent two deputies to declare in person that order to the league. Two reasons induced them to act in this manner. The first was, their fear that the Achæans, who were very jealous of their liberty, and full of valour, would refuse obedience to the letters that should be written them; and that Callicrates, and the other informers, should run the risque of their lives in the assembly: the second, because in the letters, which had been found amongst Perseus' papers, nothing appeared to convict the accused Achæans.

The two commissioners sent into Achaia, were C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. One of them, more abandoned to injustice than the other, Pausanius does not say which, complained in the assembly, that many of the most powerful persons of the league had assisted Perseus against the Romans, and demanded, that they should be condemned as deserving death, after which he should name them. The whole assembly was shocked at this proposal, and cried out on all sides, that it was an unheard of thing to condemn persons before it was declared who they were, and pressed him to make known the guilty. Upon repeated instances to ex-

t A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Liv. l. xlv. n. 31. Pausan. in Achaiac. p. 416, 417.

plain himself, he replied, at the suggestion of Callicrates, that all who had been in office, and commanded the armies, had rendered themselves guilty of that crime. Xenon, upon that, who was a person of great credit, and very much respected by the league, spoke to this effect: "I have commanded the armies, and have had the honour to be the chief magistrate of the league; I protest, that I have never acted in any thing contrary to the interests of the Romans, which I am ready to prove, either in the assembly of the Achæans, or at Rome before the senate." The Romans took hold of this expression, as favourable to his designs, and decreed, that all those who had been charged by Callicrates, should be sent to Rome in order to justify themselves there. The whole assembly was in the highest affliction upon this sentence. Nothing like it had ever been known, even under Philip, or his son Alexander. Those princes, though irresistibly powerful, never conceived the thought of causing such as opposed them to be brought into Macedonia, but referred the trying of them to the council of the Amphictyons, their natural judges. The Romans did not imitate their moderation; but by a conduct, which may justly be called tyrannical, caused above a thousand of the most considerable citizens of the Achæan league to be seized, and conveyed to Rome. Callicrates became more than ever the object of horror and detestation to all the Achæans. All people avoided meeting him, and shunned his presence as an infamous traitor; and no one would bathe in the public baths after him, till all the water had been first emptied out of them.

Polybius, the celebrated historian, was of the number of those exiles. We have seen Lycortas, his father, distinguish himself by the fortitude and constancy with which he supported the interest of the Achæan league during his government of it. In regard to policy, Polybius had Lycortas his father, a great statesman, for his master; and for war, Philopœmen, one of the most able and intrepid generals of antiquity. It was under these tutors he imbibed those learned lessons of government and war, which he practised himself, and has transmitted to posterity in his writings.

As soon as he arrived at Rome, whither his reputation had reached before him, his merit made the greatest men of the republic cultivate his friendship. He was particularly intimate with the two sons of Paulus Æmilius, the eldest of whom had been adopted into the family of the Fabii, and

the youngest into that of the Scipios. The latter had been adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, son of Scipio Africanus, who conquered Hannibal. I have enlarged sufficiently, in the conclusion of the history of the Carthaginians, upon the intimate friendship of Polybius with this second son of Paulus Æmilius, who afterwards conquered Carthage and Numantia. That young Roman perceived the value of such a friend, and knew how to apply his lessons and counsels to the best advantage. It is very probable, that Polybius composed the greatest part of his history, or, at least, collected his materials for it, at Rome.

When the Achæans arrived at Rome, the senate, without hearing or examining their cause, supposing, without any foundation, and contrary to the most known truth, that they had been tried and sentenced in the assembly of the Achæans, banished them into different towns of Italy. Polybius was excepted from that number.

The Achæans[u], surprised and afflicted with the fate of their countrymen, sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the senate would vouchsafe to take cognizance of their cause. They were answered, that it had been done, and that they had adjudged it themselves. Upon that reply, the Achæans sent back the same deputies to Rome, with Euræas at their head, to protest again before the senate, that those Achæans had never been heard by their country, and that their affair had never been brought to a trial. Euræas, in consequence, entered the senate with the other deputies who accompanied him, and declared the orders he had received, praying, that they would take cognizance of the accusation, and not suffer the accused to perish, without passing sentence upon the crime they were charged with. That it were to be wished the senate would examine the affair themselves, and make known the guilty; but in case their other great affairs should not afford them leisure for such inquiry, they had only to refer it to the Achæans, who would do them justice in such a manner, as should evidence the greatness of their aversion for the culpable. Nothing was more equitable than this demand, and the senate was very much at a loss how to answer it. On the one side, they did not think it proper to try the cause, for the accusation was groundless; on the other, to dismiss the exiles, without passing judgement upon them, was to lose irrecoverably all their friends in Achaia. The senate, to leave

u Polyb. Legat. cv.

the Greeks no hopes of retrieving their exiles, and to render them thereby more submissive to their orders, wrote into Achaia to Callicrates, and into the other states to the partisans of the Romans, that it did not appear to them, that the return of the exiles consisted with theirs, or the interest of their country. This answer not only threw the exiles, but all the people of Greece, into a consternation. An universal mourning succeeded it. They were convinced, that there was nothing further to hope for the accused Achæans, and that their banishment was perpetual.

However [x], they sent new deputies with instructions to demand the return of the exiles; but as suppliants, and as a favour; lest, in taking upon them their defence, they should seem ever so little to oppose the will of the senate. There did not escape any thing in their harangue, that was not very well weighed, and sufficiently reserved. Notwithstanding which, the senate continued inflexible, and declared, that they would persist in the regulations already made.

The Achæans [y] would not be rejected, and appointed several deputations at different times, but with no better success; they were particularly ordered to demand the return of Polybius. They were in the right to persevere thus in their applications to the senate, in favour of their countrymen. Though their repeated instances had no other effect than to place the injustice of the Romans in full light, they could not be considered as unnecessary. Many of the senators were moved with them, and were of opinion, that it was proper to send home the exiles.

The Achæans [z], having received advice of this favourable disposition, in order to improve it to their advantage, appointed a last deputation. The exiles had been already banished seventeen years, and a great number of them were dead. There were very warm debates upon them in the senate; some being for their return into their country, and their being restored to the possession of their estates, and others opposing it. Scipio, at the request of Polybius, had solicited Cato in favour of the exiles. That grave senator, rising up to speak in his turn: "To see us," said he, "dispute a "whole day, whether some poor old men of Greece shall be "interred by our grave-diggers, or those of their own coun-"try, would not one believe, that we had nothing at all to

x Polyb. Legat. cxxi.
y A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 160. Polyb. Legat. cxxix, cxxx.
z Plut. in Cato. Cons. p. 341.

"do?" That pleasantry was all that was wanting to make the senate ashamed of so long a contest, and to determine at last to send back the exiles to Peloponnesus. Polybius was for desiring, that they might be re-instated in all the honours and dignities they possessed before their banishment; but before he presented that request to the senate, he thought proper to sound Cato upon it, who told him smiling, "Polybius, you "do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. You are for return-"ing into the cave of the Cyclops for some miserable tatters "you have left there[a]." The exiles accordingly returned into their country, but of the thousand that left it, only about three hundred remained. Polybius made no use of this permission, or if he did, he soon rejoined Scipio, seeing three years after, he was with him at the siege of Carthage.

SECTION III.

ARIARATHES DIES, AND IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON. DEATH OF EUMENES. WAR BETWEEN ATTALUS AND PRUSIAS.

AFTER the defeat of Perseus, new embassies came every day to Rome, either to congratulate the Romans upon their victory, or to justify or excuse themselves for the attachment they seemed to have to that prince; and some came to lay complaints before the senate in regard to some allies. We have seen hitherto what relates to the Rhodians and Achæans. In this section I shall collect what concerns Eumenes, king of Pergamus, Prusias, king of Bithynia, and some other particular affairs.

[b] Prusias, being come to Rome, to make the senate and Roman people his compliments of congratulation upon the good success of the war against Perseus, dishonoured the royal dignity by abject flattery. At his reception by the deputies appointed by the senate for that purpose, he appeared with his head shaved, and with the cap, habit, shoes, and stockings of a slave made free; and saluting the deputies, "You "see," said he, "one of your freed-men, ready to fulfil what-"soever you shall please to command, and to conform entire-"ly to all your customs." When he entered the senate, he stood at the door, facing the senators who sat, and prostrating himself, kissed the threshold. Afterwards, addressing himself to the assembly, "I salute you, gods preservers," cried he;

a A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150.
b A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. Polyb. Legat. xcvii. Liv. l. xlv. n. 44.

and went on with a discourse suitable to that prelude. Polybius says, that he should be ashamed to repeat it. He concluded with his demanding, that the Roman people would renew the alliance with him, and grant him certain lands taken from Antiochus, of which the Gauls had possessed themselves without any right or pretension. He then recommended his son Nicomedes to them. All he asked was granted him; only commissioners were appointed to examine into the condition of the lands in question. Livy, in his account of this audience, omits the abject submissions of Prusias; of which he pretends the Roman historians say nothing: he contents himself with mentioning, in the conclusion, part of what Polybius had said before, and with some reason. For that base deportment at least dishonoured the senate as much, who suffered, as the prince who acted it.

[c] Prusias had scarce left Rome, when advice came, that Eumenes was upon the point of entering it. That news gave the senate some trouble. Eumenes, in the war against Perseus, had behaved in such a manner, that they could neither continue him as a friend nor an enemy. There was reason for violent suspicions, but no certain proofs against him. To admit him to an audience, was to declare him innocent: To contemn him as guilty, was to lay themselves under the necessity of a war with him; and to proclaim to all the world, that they had failed in point of prudence, by loading a prince with fortunes and honours, whose character they were little acquainted with. To avoid these inconveniencies, the senate made a decree, by which, under the pretext that the reception of kings was too great a charge to the republic, they forbade all kings in general to enter that city, and caused that ordinance to be signified to the king of Pergamus, who was at no loss to comprehend its meaning. He returned therefore into his own dominions

[d] This affront encouraged his enemies, and cooled the affection of his allies. Prusias sent an ambassador to Rome, to complain of the irruptions he made into Bithynia. He added, that Eumenes held secret intelligence with Antiochus; that he treated all those injuriously who seemed to favour the Romans, and particularly the Gallo-Grecians his neighbours, in contradiction to the senate's decrees in their behalf. That people had also sent deputies to Rome with their complaints;

c Polyb. Legat. xcvii.

d A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165. Polyb. Legat. xcvii, cii, civ, cv, cvi, cxix, cxxi.

which they afterwards repeated several times, as well as Prusias. The senate did not yet declare themselves. They contented themselves with aiding and supporting the Gallo-Grecians underhand, to the utmost of their power, without doing any manifest injustice to Eumenes.

The king of Pergamus, who had been forbidden entrance into Rome, sent his brothers, Attalus and Athenæus, thither, to answer the accusations he was charged with. The apology they made, seemed finally to confute all complaints against the king; and the senate were so well satisfied with it, that they sent them back into Asia, laden with honours and presents. They did not, however, entirely efface the prejudices conceived against their brother. The senate dispatched Sulpitius Gallus and Manius Sergius, with orders to inform themselves secretly, whether Antiochus and Eumenes were not concerting some design against the Romans.

[e] Sulpitius acted in this commission with very great imprudence. He was a vain man, and aimed at appearing important, by declaring against Eumenes. When he arrived in Asia, he caused all the cities to be informed, that such as had any complaints to make in regard to that prince, might repair to him at Sardis. And there for ten days he hearkened quietly to all the accusations people thought fit to form against Eumenes: a liberty that set all malcontents at work, and opened a door for all manner of calumnies!

[f] Tiberius Gracchus, whom the senate sent the following year into Asia upon the same account, was received by Eumenes and Antiochus in a manner which convinced him there was nothing to fear from those two kings, and induced him to make his report to the senate accordingly. He gave as favourable an account of the conduct of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who had married the sister of Eumenes. That prince died some time after. His son Ariarathes, [g] surnamed Philopater, succeeded him. He had him by Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and intended, when he came to age, to resign his kingdom to him, to which his son would never consent; from whence he was called Philopater, that is, lover of his father. An action highly laudable, in an age wherein it was no uncommon thing to acquire kingdoms by parricide.

e Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145. f A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164.
g A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Diod. Eleg. p. 895.

[h] As soon as the young king ascended the throne, he sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the treaty his father had made with the Romans should be renewed, which was granted him with praises.

[i] Some time after, notwithstanding Eumenes aided him with all his forces, he was dethroned by Demetrius, king of Syria, and one of his elder brothers set in his place, who was a supposed son, named Holofernes. [k] Ariarathes took refuge at Rome. The usurper and Demetrius sent their ambassadors also thither. The senate decreed, that the two brothers should reign jointly. It was a policy sufficiently frequent with the Romans to divide kingdoms between brothers, in order to weaken them by that partition, and sow the seeds of an eternal division between them. Attalus, in the first year of his reign, re-established him in the sole possession of the throne, having conquered and expelled his competitor.

Eumenes was always expected by the Romans, and almost continually at war with Prusias, or the Gallo-Grecians. He died at length, after having reigned thirty-eight * years. He left for his successor [l] in the kingdom, his son Attalus, surnamed Philometer, then an infant, whom he had by Stratonice sister of Ariarathes, and appointed guardian of his son and regent of his kingdom, his brother Attalus Philadelphus, who governed the kingdom one-and-twenty years.

Polybius bestows great praises on Eumenes. The body of that prince, says he, was weak and delicate, his soul great, and abounding with the most noble sentiments. He gave place to none of the kings [m] his contemporaries in many other qualities, and excelled them all in the nobleness of his inclinations. The kingdom of Pergamus, when he received it from his father, consisted only of a very small number of cities, which scarce deserved that name. He rendered it so powerful, that it might have disputed pre-eminence with almost all the greatest kingdoms. He owed nothing either to chance or fortune; still using the words of Polybius. Every thing was the result of his prudence, labour, and activity. From his fondness for true glory, he did more good to Greece, and enriched more private persons, than any prince. To finish

h Polyb. Legat. cxxi.
i A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. Polyb. Legat. cxxvi.
k A. M. 3847. Ant. J. C. 157. l Strab. l. xiii. p. 624.
m Polyb. Exempt. Virt. et Vit. p. 166.
* Strabo says, he reigned forty-three years, but that is presumed to be an error.

his character, he possessed so fully the art of engaging the respect of his three brothers, and of keeping them within bounds by his authority, without letting them perceive it, that, though they were all of age and capacity to undertake for themselves, and shared with him in the functions of the sovereignty, they never failed in point of submission, but continued always in perfect union, and with equal zeal for his service, assisted him in defending and aggrandizing the kingdom. It would be difficult to find such an example of authority over brothers, joined with unalterable concord and union.

I ought not to omit one thing in this place, which does great honour to the memory of Eumenes; that is, his having founded the famous library of Pergamus, or at least considerably augmented it: but I shall speak of that elsewhere.

The division [n] which had almost perpetually subsisted between Prusias and Eumenes, continued under Attalus, who succeeded the latter. Prusias, having been victorious in a battle, entered Pergamus, and, violently enraged and afflicted that he had failed of seizing Attalus, let fall the weight of his revenge upon the statues and temples of the gods; burning and destroying all before him in his march. [o] Attalus sent his brother Athenæus to Rome, to implore the aid of the senate, who sent several embassies at different times to forbid Prusias to continue the war against Attalus; but he eluded these orders, either by delays or even treachery, having once attempted, under pretence of an interview, to seize the Roman ambassador and Attalus. His design was discovered, and the execution of it prevented; but his crime was not the less upon that account. Rome, at other times, would have punished it with the destruction of his kingdom. At this she was contented with sending ten commissioners, with instructions to put an end to this war, and to oblige Prusias to make Attalus satisfaction for the damages he had done him. Attalus, however, with the aid of his allies, had assembled numerous armies both by sea and land. All things were prepared for opening the campaign, when news came that the commissioners were arrived. Attalus joined them. After some conferences upon the present affair, they set out for Bithynia, where they declared to Prusias the orders they were charged with from the senate. That prince was willing to accept part

n A. M. 3848. Ant. J. C. 156. Polyb. Legat. cxxviii, cxxix, cxxxiii, cxxxv, cxxxvi. o A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 165.

of the conditions prescribed him; but refused to comply with most of the rest. The commissioners, exasperated at his rejecting them, broke the alliance and amity with him, and resúming immediately their route to Pergamus, left Prusias in terrible apprehensions. They advised Attalus to keep with his army upon the frontiers of his kingdom, without being the first to commit hostilities; and some of them returned to Rome, to inform the senate of the rebellion of Prusias. At length he opened his eyes, and new commissioners from Rome obliged him to lay down his arms, and sign a treaty of peace, which they presented him. This treaty imported, that Prusias should give immediately twenty decked ships to Attalus; that he should pay him five hundred talents, five hundred thousand crowns, in the space of twenty years; and that the two kings should keep within the bounds of their own dominions, such as they stood before the war; that Prusias, in reparation of the damages he had done upon the lands of some neighbouring cities, which were named, should pay them one hundred talents, an hundred thousand crowns. When he had accepted and signed these conditions, Attalus drew off his troops both by sea and land into his own kingdom. In this manner ended the war, occasioned by the differences between Attalus and Prusias.

Attalus the younger, [p] son of Eumenes, when the peace was concluded between the two states, made a voyage to Rome, in order to make himself known to the senate, to demand the continuance of their amity, and, without doubt, to thank them also for the protection they had granted his uncle, who reigned in his name. He received from the senate all the marks of favour he could have expected, and all the honours suitable to his years; after which he set out for his dominions.

Prusias [q] also sent afterwards his son Nicomedes to Rome, and knowing that he was highly considered there, he gave him instructions to demand, that the senate would remit him the remainder of the sum he was to pay Attalus. He joined Menas with him in this embassy, to whom he had given secret orders to dispatch the young prince, in order to advance his children by a second wife. The favour demanded by Prusias was refused, Attalus' ambassadors demonstrating that the whole sum was far from being equal to the losses their master

p Polyb. Legat. cxl.

q A. M. 3855. Ant. J. C. 149. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 175. Justin. l. lxxxiv. c. 4.

had sustained from him. Menas, instead of executing the horrid commission he was charged with, discovered the whole to Nicomedes. [r] The young prince, having quitted Rome to return into Bithynia, thought it incumbent on him to prevent the murderous designs of his father. Supported by the assistance of Attalus, he revolted against him, and drew over the greatest part of the people into his party; for Prusias was universally hated for his oppressions and cruelties. That unfortunate prince, abandoned by all his subjects, took refuge in a temple, where he was slain by soldiers sent by Nicomedes, or, according to some, by Nicomedes himself. What horrors on each side! Prusias was called the Hunter, and had reigned at least six-and-thirty years. It was with him Hannibal had taken refuge.

This king of Bithynia's person [s] had nothing in it to prepossess people in his favour; nor was his mind more to his advantage. He was in size but half a man, and a mere woman as to valour and bravery. He was not only timorous, but soft, and incapable of fatigue; in a word, equally effeminate in body and mind; defects by no means amiable in a king, and most of all amongst the Bithynians. Polite learning, philosophy, and all other liberal knowledge, were entirely foreign to him. In short, he had no manner of idea of the great and good, the noble and the elegant. Night and day, he lived a true Sardanapalus: So that his subjects, upon the first dawn of hope, joined with the utmost ardour in measures against him, and to punish him in the same manner he had governed them.

I have deferred speaking of two embassies, which arrived at Rome very near the same time.

The one came from the Athenians, who having been condemned by a sentence passed on them by the Sicyonians [t], but under the authority of the Roman senate, in a fine of five hundred talents, for having laid waste the lands of the city of Oropus, sent to demand the remission of that fine. The ambassadors were three celebrated philosophers; Carneades, of the sect of the Academics; Diogenes, of the Stoics; and Critolaus, of the Peripatetics. The taste for eloquence and philosophy had not yet made its way so far as Rome; it was about the time of which we are speaking, that it began to

r A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148.
s Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 173, 174.
t A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 155. Cic. l. ii. de Orat. n. 15. Aul. Gel. l. vii. c. 14.

spread there, and the reputation of these three philosophers did not a little contribute to it. The young people of Rome, who had any taste for the sciences, made it their honour and amusement to visit them, and were struck with admiration in hearing them, especially Carneades, whose lively and graceful eloquence, in which solidity and ornament exalted each other, transported and enchanted them. It was universally talked, that a Greek of extraordinary merit was arrived, who from his great knowledge was more than man, and who, in calming and softening the most violent passions by his eloquence, inspired youth with a kind of love, which made them renounce all other pleasures and employments, to abandon themselves wholly to philosophy. He had for his auditors all the most considerable persons of Rome. His discourses, translated into Latin by one of the senators, were in all hands. All Rome saw, with great joy, their children apply themselves to the Grecian learning, and inseparable from these wonderful men. Cato only seemed sorry for it; apprehending, that this taste for polite learning would extinguish that for military knowledge; and that they would prefer the glory of speaking, to that of acting well. The example of the second Scipio Africanus, educated at the same time under the care of Polybius in a taste for the sciences, demonstrates how ill founded that prejudice of Cato's was. However it were, he warmly reproached the senators for keeping the ambassadors so long in the city; and having caused the affair that brought them thither to be dispatched, he hastened their departure. By a decree of the senate, the fine in which they had been condemned was moderated, and the five hundred talents reduced to one hundred.

The other embassy was sent by the [u] people of Marseilles. They had already been often harassed by the Ligurians, but at the time of which we now speak, they were reduced to the last extremities, and sent ambassadors to Rome, to implore aid of the senate. They came to a resolution to send deputies to the Ligurians, to incline them to sentiments of peace and equity by the method of amity and negociation. Such conduct made them only the more haughty, and they carried their insolence so far as to offer indignities to the deputies, and to violate the law of nations in their persons. The senate, being informed of this unhappy affair, made the consul Quintius Opimius march immediately against them with an

u Polyb. Legat. cxxxi. et cxxxiv.

army. He laid siege to the city [x] where the insult had been offered to the Roman ambassadors, took it by storm, made slaves of the inhabitants, and sent the principal authors of the affront bound and fettered to Rome, to be punished there according to their deserts. The Ligurians were beat and cut to pieces in several battles. The victor distributed all the conquered lands amongst the people of Marseilles. He ordered the Ligurians to send hostages to Marseilles, which were to be exchanged for others from time to time; in order to lay a curb upon them, and prevent them from molesting the people of Marseilles, as they had done to them.

Rome had always held the people of Marseilles in extreme consideration, founded upon their extraordinary merit, and the inviolable fidelity with which they had constantly adhered to the party of the Romans. They were by origin [y] of Phocæa, a city of Ionia. When Xerxes sent Harpagus to besiege it, the inhabitants, rather than submit to the yoke of the Barbarians, as so many others had done, embarked with their wives and children, and all their effects, and after various adventures, having cast a mass of red-hot iron into the sea, they all engaged themselves by oath never to return into Phocæa, till that iron should swim upon the water. Afterwards having landed upon the coast of Gaul, near the mouth of the Rhone, they settled there, by the consent of the king of the country, and built a city, since called Marseilles. This foundation is said to have been made in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, about the second year of the 45th Olympiad, and six hundred years before the birth of Jesus Christ.

The king, who had received them into his dominions with great goodness, being dead, his son [z] did not show them so much favour. The growing power of their city gave him umbrage. He was made to understand, that those strangers, whom he had received into his country as guests and suppliants, might one day make themselves masters of it by right of conquest. The fable of the bitch was made use of upon this occasion, that asked her companion to lend her her house only for eight days, till she had brought forth her whelps: then by great entreaties obtained a second term to bring them up; and at last, when they were grown large and strong, made herself absolute mistress and proprietor of the place, from whence she could never afterwards be expelled. The Marseillians had, in consequence, at first a rude war upon

x Egitna. y Herod. l. i. c. 164. Justin. xliii. c. 3. z Ibid. c. 4.

their hands; but having been victorious, they continued in quiet possession of the lands that had been granted them, within the bounds of which they were not long confined.

In process of time they settled several [a] colonies, and built several cities; Agde, Nice, Antiba, Olbia; which much extended their territory, and augmented their power. They had ports, arsenals, and fleets, that rendered them formidable to their enemies.

So many new settlements [b] contributed to the spreading of the Greeks in Gaul, and occasioned a wonderful change in them. The Gauls, quitting their ancient rusticity by degrees, began to be civilized, and to assume more gentle manners. Instead of breathing nothing but war, they accustomed themselves to the observance of the laws of a wise government. They learned to improve their lands, to cultivate vines, and to plant olives *. Hence so surprising an alteration ensued, as well in the provinces as the people who inhabited them, that it might have been said, Greece was not come to Gaul, but Gaul had been changed into Greece.

The [c] inhabitants of the new city made very wise laws for its polity and government, which was aristocratical, that is to say, in the hands of the elders. The council of the city was composed of six hundred senators, who continued in that function during life. Of that number fifteen were elected to take care of the current affairs, and three to preside in the assemblies, in quality of principal magistrates.

The right of hospitality [d] was in singular estimation amongst the Marseillians, and practised by them with the most exalted humanity. To maintain the security of the asylum they gave to strangers, no person was suffered to enter the city with arms. Certain persons were placed at the gates, whose business it was to take care of the arms of all who came in, and to return them when they went out.

All entrance was barred to such as might have been for introducing sloth and a voluptuous life; and particular care was taken to banish all double-dealing, falsehood, and fraud.

They piqued themselves [e] especially upon sobriety, modesty, and frugality. The most considerable portion amongst them did not exceed an hundred pieces of gold, that is to say, very near an hundred pistoles. They were not allowed to lay

a Strab. p. 180. b Justin. l. xliii. c. 4. c Strab. l. iv. p. 179.
d Val. Max. l. ii. c. 6. e Strab. l. iv. p. 181.

* Adeo magnus et hominibus et rebus impositus est nitor, ut non Græcia in Galliam emigrasse, sed Gallia in Græciam translata videretur.—Justin.

out more than five in dress, and as many in jewels. Valerius Maximus [f], who lived in the reign of Tiberius, admires the regulations of government observed at Marseilles in his time. "That city," says he, "stedfastly retaining the * ancient severity of manners, excluded from their theatre those "comedians whose pieces generally turn upon the subject of "unlawful love." The reason given for this maxim is still finer and more remarkable than the maxim itself. "Lest," adds the author, "a familiarity with such sort of shows "should make the people more apt to imitate them."

They would not admit, in funeral-ceremonies, those indecent tears and lamentations, with which they are generally attended, and ordered them to cease the same day by a domestic sacrifice, and an entertainment for the friends and relations of the deceased †. "For is it consistent to abandon "ourselves to immoderate affliction, or to be offended at the "Divinity, for not having thought fit to share his immortality "with us?"

Tacitus has a passage upon the city of Marseilles highly in its praise; it is in his life of Julius Agricola, his father-in-law. After having spoken of the excellent education he had received from the care and tender affection of ‡ Julia Procilla, his mother, a lady of extraordinary virtue, who made him pass the most early years of his youth in the study of those arts and sciences that suited his birth and age; he adds, "What "had preserved him from the dangers and disorders to "which youth is generally exposed, was, besides his own ge-"nius and disposition, the good fortune of having from his "infancy the city of Marseilles for his school, in the manners "of whose inhabitants, the politeness of the Greeks, and the "simplicity and reserve of the provinces, were happily united." "Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, præter ipsius bonam "integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac ma-"gistram studiorum Massiliam habuerit, locum Græca co-"mitate et provinciali parsimonia mistum ac bene compo-"situm."

f Lib. ii. c. 6.

* Eadem civitas servitatis custos acerrima est: Nullum aditum in scenam mimis dando, quorum argumenta majore ex parte stuprorum continent actus, ne talia spectandi consuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam sumat.

† Etenim quid attinet, aut humano dolori indulgeri, aut divino numini invidiam fieri, quod immortalitatem suam nobiscum partiri noluerit?

‡ Mater Julia Procilla fuit raræ castitatis. In hujus sinu indulgentiaque educatis, per omnem honestarum artium cultum, pueritiam adolescentiaque transegit.—Tacit. in Agricol. c. iv.

From what I have said may be seen, that Marseilles was become a celebrated school for politeness, wisdom, and virtue, and, at the same time, for all arts and sciences. Eloquence, philosophy, physic, mathematics, law, fabulous theology, and all kinds of literature, were publicly professed there. This city produced [g] the most ancient of the learned men of the West, I mean Pythias, an excellent geographer and astronomer, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, or indeed of Alexander the Great.

They persevered constantly in cultivating the arts and sciences with equal ardour and success. Strabo relates, that in his time, (he lived in the reign of Augustus), the young nobility of Rome went to Marseilles for education; and he prefers that place to the city of Athens itself; which is saying a great deal. We have already seen, that it retained that privilege in the time of Tacitus the historian.

The Marseillians distinguished themselves no less by the wisdom of their government, than by their capacity and taste for learning. Cicero, in one of his orations, exceedingly magnifies their manner of governing their republic. * "I "am assured," says he, "that not only in Greece, but all "other nations, there is nothing comparable to the wise po-"lity established at Marseilles. That city, so remote from "the country, manners, and language of all other Greeks "situated in Gaul, in the midst of barbarous nations that "surround it on all sides, is so prudently directed by the "counsels of its elders, that it is more easy to praise, than "imitate, the wisdom of its government."

They laid it down as a fundamental [h] rule of their politics, from which they never departed, to adhere inviolably to the Romans, to whose manners their own were more conformable, than to those of the Barbarians around them. Besides which, their neighbourhood to the Ligurians, of whom they were equally enemies, could not but contribute to unite them by their common interests; that union enabling each party to make powerful diversions on both sides of the Alps. They accordingly rendered the Romans great services at all times,

g Voss. in Histor. Græc. h Strab. l. iv. p. 183.

* Cujus ego civitatis disciplinam atque gravitatem, non solum Græciæ, sed haud scio cunctis gentibus, anteponendam jure dicam: quæ tam procul à Græcorum omnium regionibus, disciplinis, linguaque divisa, cum ultimis terris cincta Gallorum gentibus, barbariæ fluctibus alluatur, sic optimatum consilio gubernatur, ut omnes ejus instituta laudare facilius possint, quam emulari.—Orat. pro Flacco, n. 63.

and also received considerable aids from them upon many occasions.

Justin [i] relates a fact, which would be very much to the honour of the Marseillians, if it were well confirmed. Having received advice that the Gauls had taken and burned Rome, they deplored that disaster of their allies, as much as if it had happened to their own city. Nor did they confine themselves to fruitless tears. Out of the gold and silver, either of the public or private persons, they raised the sum in which the Gauls had taxed the conquered, as the price of peace, and sent it to Rome. The [k] Romans, infinitely affected with so noble an act of generosity, granted Marseilles the privilege of immunity, and the right of sitting amongst the senators at the public shows. It is certain, that during the war with Hannibal, Marseilles aided the Romans with all manner of good offices; the ill successes, which they experienced in the first years of the war, and which had deprived them of almost all their allies, not being capable of shaking their fidelity in the least.

In the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, that city observed a conduct which well denotes the wisdom of its government. Cæsar, [l] against whom they had shut their gates, called the fifteen senators, who were in supreme authority, to his camp, and represented to them, that he was sorry the war should begin by attacking their city; that they ought rather to submit to the authority of all Italy, than to abandon themselves blindly to the desires of one man; and he added all the motives most capable of persuading them. After having made their report to the senate, they returned into the camp, and gave Cæsar this answer: † That they knew the Roman people were divided into two parties: that it did not belong to them to determine which had the right on their side: that the two heads of those parties were equally the protectors of their city, and at the same time its friends and benefactors. That for this reason, obliged to express their gratitude alike for both, it was incumbent upon them neither to assist nor receive the one into their city or ports, to the

i Justin. l. xliii. c. 6.

k Liv. l. xxi. n. 20, 25, 26. Lib. xxvi. n. 19. Lib. xxvii. n. 36.

l Cæs. in Bel. Civ. l. i.

† Intelligere se divisum esse populum in partes duas: neque sui judicii, neque suarum virium discernere utra pars justiorem habeat causam: principes vero earum esse partium Cn. Pompeium et C. Cæsarem patronos civitatis—Paribus eorum beneficiis, parem se quoque voluntatem tribuére debere, et neutram eorum contra alterum juvare, aut urbe aut portubus recipere.

prejudice of the other. They [m] suffered a long siege, in which they showed all possible valour; but at length, the extreme necessity to which they were reduced by the want of every thing, obliged them to surrender. However enraged Cæsar was at so obstinate a resistance, he could not refuse to the ancient reputation of the city, the favour of saving it from being plundered, and of preserving its citizens.

I should have believed myself wanting in some measure to the glory of the French nation, and to that of a city which holds one of the highest ranks in the kingdom, if I had not collected in this place part of those favourable reports antiquity makes of it. I hope the reader will pardon this digression; which besides comes into my plan, and is part of the Grecian history.

The affairs of Greece, Bithynia, Pergamus, and some other countries, which I thought it necessary to treat in a series, and without interruption, have made me suspend those of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt; to which it is now time to return. I shall begin with Macedonia.

SECTION III.

ANDRISCUS, PRETENDED SON OF PERSEUS, CAUSES HIMSELF TO BE PROCLAIMED KING OF MACEDONIA.

FIFTEEN or sixteen years [n] after the defeat and death of Perseus, Andriscus of Adramytta, a city of Troas, in Asia Minor, a person of the meanest birth, giving himself out for the son of Perseus, took upon him the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia, in hopes of making the inhabitants of the country acknowledge him for their king. He had invented a story in regard to his birth, which he reported wherever he passed, pretending that he was the son of Perseus by a concubine, and that the prince his father had caused him to be secretly brought up at Adramytta, that in case of ill fortune in the war against the Romans, some shoot of the royal line might remain. That after the death of Perseus, he had been nurtured and brought up at Adramytta, till he was twelve years of age; and that the person who passed for his father, finding himself at the point of death, had revealed the secret to his wife, and intrusted her with a writing, signed by Per-

m Cæs. in Bel. Civ. l. ii.

n A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152. Epiton. Liv. l. xlviii.—l. Zonar ex Dion. l. i. c. 11. Florus, l. ii. c. 14.

seus with his own hand, which attested all that has been said; which writing she was to deliver to him, Philip, as soon as he should attain to years of discretion. He added, that her husband having conjured her absolutely to conceal the affair till then, she had been most faithful in keeping the secret, and had delivered that important writing to him at the appointed time; pressing him to quit the country, before the report should reach the ears of Eumenes, the declared enemy of Perseus, lest he should cause him to be put to death. He was in hopes that he should be believed upon his own word, and make Macedonia rise in his favour. When he saw that all continued quiet, he retired into Syria, to the court of Demetrius Soter, whose sister Perseus had espoused. That prince, who immediately perceived the fraud, caused him to be seized, and sent to Rome.

As he did not produce any proof of his pretended nobility, and had nothing in his mein or manners that expressed the prince, no great notice was taken of him at Rome, and he was treated with great contempt, without much trouble to keep a strict guard upon him, or to confine him close. He took the advantage of the negligence of his guards, and made his escape from Rome. Having found means to raise a considerable army amongst the Thracians, who entered into his views, for the sake of delivering themselves by his means from the Roman yoke, he made himself master of Macedonia, either by consent or force, and assumed the marks of the royal dignity. Not content with this first conquest, which had cost him little, he attacked Thessaly, and subjected a part of it to his obedience.

The affair then began to seem more important to the Romans. They elected Scipio Nasica to go thither, and appease this tumult in its birth, deeming him well qualified for that commission. He had, indeed, the art of managing men's minds, and of bringing them into his measures by persuasion; and, if he should find it necessary to decide this affair by arms, he was very capable of forming a project with wisdom, and executing it with valour. As soon as he arrived in Greece, and had been fully informed of the state of affairs in Macedonia and Thessaly, he gave the senate advice of them; and without loss of time, visited the cities of the allies, in order to the immediate raising of troops for the defence of Thessaly. The Achæans, who continued at that time the most powerful people of Greece, supplied him with the greatest number, forgetting past subjects of discontent. He present-

ly took from the false Philip all the places he had possessed himself of in Thessaly, and drove him back into Macedonia.

[o] However, it was well known at Rome from Scipio's letters, that Macedonia had occasion for a speedy support. The prætor, P. Juventius Thalna, had orders to repair thither as soon as possible with an army, which he did without loss of time. But looking upon Andriscus as only a pageant king, he did not think it incumbent upon him to take any great precautions against him, and engaged precipitately in a battle, wherein he lost his life, with part of his army; the rest saving themselves only by favour of the night. The victor, elated with his success, and believing his authority sufficiently established, abandoned himself to his vicious inclinations, without any moderation or reserve; as if the being truly a king, consisted in knowing no law nor rule of conduct but his passions. He was covetous, proud, insolent, and cruel. Nothing was seen every where but violence, confiscations of estates, and murders. Taking the advantage of the terror occasioned by the defeat of the Roman army, he soon recovered all he had lost in Thessaly. An embassy sent to him from the Carthaginians, who were at that time actually at war with the Romans, very much augmented his courage.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus, lately elected prætor, had succeeded Juventius. Andriscus had resolved to advance to meet him, but did not think it proper to remove far from the sea, and halted at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman prætor soon followed him. The two armies were in view of each other, and skirmished every day. Andriscus gained an advantage sufficiently considerable in a small combat of the cavalry. Success generally blinds and proves fatal to people of little experience. Andriscus, believing himself superior to the Romans, sent off a great detachment to defend his conquests in Thessaly. This was a gross error; and Metellus, whose vigilance nothing escaped, did not fail to take the advantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was beat, and Andriscus obliged to fly. He retired amongst the Thracians, from whom he returned soon after with another army. He was so rash as to hazard another battle, which was still less successful than the former. He had above twenty-five thousand men killed in these two battles; and nothing was wanting to the Roman glory, but to seize Andriscus, who had taken refuge with a petty king of Thrace, to whose

[o] A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148.

fidelity he had abandoned himself. But the Thracians did not stand much upon breach of faith, and made that the means to their interest. That prince delivered up his guest and suppliant into the hands of Metellus, to avoid drawing upon himself the wrath and arms of the Romans; Andriscus was sent to Rome.

Another adventurer, who also called himself the son of Perseus, and took upon him the name of Alexander, had the same fate with the first, except being seized by Metellus: he retired into Dardania, where he effectually concealed himself.

It was at that time Macedonia was entirely subjected to the Romans, and reduced into a province.

A third usurper, some years after, appeared again, and set himself up as the son of Perseus, under the name of Philip. His pretended royalty was but of short duration. He was overcome, and killed in Macedonia by Tremellius, afterwards surnamed Scrofa, from having said that he would disperse the enemy, "ut Scrofa Porcos."

SECTION IV.

TROUBLES IN ACHAIA. METELLUS AND MUMMIUS SETTLE THOSE TROUBLES. THE LATTER TAKES CORINTH, AND DESTROYS IT.

METELLUS, [p] after having pacified Macedonia, continued there some time. Great commotions had arisen amongst the Achæans of the league, occasioned by the temerity and avarice of those who held the first offices. The resolutions of their assemblies were no longer guided by reason, prudence, and equity, but by the interest and passions of the magistrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achæan league and Sparta had sent ambassadors to Rome, upon an affair about which they were divided. Damocritus, notwithstanding, who was the supreme magistrate of the Achæans, had caused war to be declared against Sparta. Metellus had sent to desire that hostilities might cease, till the arrival of the commissioners from Rome who were appointed for terminating their differences. But neither he, nor Diæus, who succeeded him, paid any regard to that

p A. M. 3857. Ant. J. C. 147. Pausan. in Achaic. p. 421.—428. Polyb. Legat. cxliii, cxliv. Id. in Excerpt. de Virt. et Vit. p. 181.—189. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 1. Flor. l. ii. c. 16.

request. Both of them entered Laconia with their troops, and laid waste the country.

The commissioners being arrived, the assembly was summoned to Corinth; (Aurelius Orestes was at the head of the commision). The senate had given them orders to weaken the body of the league; and for that end, to separate as many cities as they could from it. Orestes notified to the assembly the decree of the senate; whereby Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea near Mount Œta, and Orchomenos of Arcadia, were secluded from the league, under pretence that those cities did not originally compose a part of the body of the Achæans. When the deputies quitted the assembly, and reported this decree to the multitude, they grew furious, and fell upon all the Lacedæmonians they found in Corinth; tore those out of the house of the commissioners who had taken refuge there; and would have treated themselves no better, had they not escaped their violence by flight.

Orestes and his colleagues, on their return to Rome, gave an account of what had passed. The senate was highly incensed at it, and immediately deputed Julius, with some other commissioners, into Achaia; but instructed them to complain with moderation, and only to exhort the Achæans not to give ear to bad councils, lest by their imprudence they should incur disgrace with the Romans; a misfortune it was in their power to avoid, by punishing those who had exposed them to it. Carthage was not yet taken, so that it was necessary to act with caution in regard to allies so powerful as the Achæans. The commissioners met on their way a deputy sent by the seditious to Rome: they carried him back with them to Ægium, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. They spoke in it with great moderation and kindness. They did not let slip a single word in their discourse concerning the ill-treatment of the commissioners, or excused it better than the Achæans themselves would have done; and were as reserved in regard to the cities they had been for separating from the league. They confined themselves to exhorting them not to aggravate their first fault, nor to irritate the Romans any further; and to leave Lacedæmonia in peace. Such moderate remonstrances were extremely agreeable to all the persons of sense in the assembly. But Diæus, Critolaus, and their faction, all chosen out of the vilest, most impious, and most pernicious persons in each city, blew up the flame of discord; insinuating, that the lenity of the Romans proceeded only from the bad condition of their

affairs in Africa, where they had been worsted in several engagements, and from the fear they were in lest the Achæan league should declare against them.

The commissioners, however, were treated with sufficient deference. They were told, that Thearidas should be sent to Rome; that they had only to repair to Tegea *, to treat there with the Lacedæmonians, and to incline them to peace. They went thither accordingly, and persuaded the Lacedæmonians to an accommodation with the Achæans, and to suspend all hostilities, till new commissioners should arrive from Rome to pacify all differences. But Critolaus' cabal took their measures in such a manner, that nobody, except that magistrate, went to the congress; and he did not arrive there, till he was almost no longer expected. Conferences were held with the Lacedæmonians; but Critolaus would not come into any measures. He said, that he was not empowered to decide any thing without the consent of the nation, and that he would report the affair in the general diet, which could not be summoned in less than six months. That bad stratagem, or rather breach of faith, exceedingly offended Julius. After having dismissed the Lacedæmonians, he set out for Rome, where he described Critolaus as a violent and extravagant man.

The commissioners were no sooner out of Peloponnesus, than Critolaus ran from city to city during the whole winter, and summoned assemblies, under colour of communicating what had been said to the Lacedæmonians in the conferences held at Tegea, but, in fact, to vent invectives against the Romans, and to put an odious construction upon all they had done, in order to inspire the same spirit of animosity and aversion, which he himself had against them; and he only succeeded too well. He, besides, prohibited all judges from prosecuting and imprisoning an Achæan for debt, till the conclusion of the affair between the diet and Lacedæmon. By that means, whatever he said had all the effect he desired, and disposed the multitude to receive such orders as he thought fit to give them. Incapable of forming right judgements of the future, they suffered themselves to be caught with the bait of the first advantage he proposed to them.

Metellus, having received advice in Macedonia of the troubles in Peloponnesus, deputed thither four Romans of distinction, who arrived at Corinth at the time the council was

* A city on the banks of the Eurotas.

assembled there. They spoke in it with abundance of moderation; exhorting the Achæans not to draw upon themselves, by imprudent rashness and levity, the resentment of the Romans. They were treated with contempt, and ignominiously turned out of the assembly. An innumerable crowd of workmen and artificers rose about them, and insulted them. All the cities of Achaia were at that time in a kind of delirium; but Corinth was far more frantic than the rest, and abandoned to a kind of madness. They had been persuaded, that Rome intended to enslave them all, and absolutely to destroy the Achæan league.

Critolaus, seeing with pleasure that every thing succeeded to his wishes, harangued the multitude, inflamed them against the magistrates who did not enter into his views; flew out against the ambassadors themselves; animated them against the Romans; and gave them to understand, that it was not without previous good measures that he had undertaken to make head against the Romans; that he had kings in his party; and that the republics were also ready to join it. By these seditious discourses he prevailed to have war declared against the Lacedæmonians, and in consequence, indirectly against the Romans. The ambassadors then separated. One of them repaired to Lacedæmon, to observe the motions of the enemy; another set out for Naupactus; and two waited the arrival of Metellus at Athens.

The magistrate of the Bœotians, whose name was Pytheas, equally rash and violent with Critolaus, entered into his measures, and engaged the Bœotians to join their arms with those of the Achæans; they were discontented with a sentence Rome had given against them. The city of Chalcis suffered itself also to be drawn into their party. The Achæans, with such feeble aids, believed themselves in a condition to support all the weight of the Roman power; so much were they blinded by their rage and fury.

¶ The Romans had chosen Mummius for one of the consuls, and charged him with the Achæan war. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, sent new ambassadors to the Achæans, with promises, that the Roman people should forget all that had passed, and pardon their faults, if they would return to their duty, and consent that certain cities, which had been proposed before, should be dismembered from the league. This proposal was rejected with

¶ A. M. 3858. Ant. J. C. 146.

disdain. Upon which Metellus advanced with his troops against the rebels. He came up with them near the city of Scarphæa in Locris, and obtained a considerable victory over them, in which he took more than one thousand prisoners. Critolaus disappeared in the battle, without its being known what became of him. It was supposed that in the flight he had fallen into the marshes, and been drowned. Diæus took upon him the command in his stead, gave liberty to the slaves, and armed all the Achæans and Arcadians capable of bearing arms. That body of troops amounted to fourteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse. He gave orders besides, for the raising of troops in every city. The exhausted cities were in the utmost desolation. Many private persons, reduced to despair, laid violent hands upon themselves: others abandoned an unhappy country, where they foresaw their destruction was inevitable. Notwithstanding the extremity of these misfortunes, they had no thoughts of taking the only measures that could prevent them. They detested the rashness of their chiefs, and nevertheless came into their measures.

Metellus, after the battle before mentioned, fell in with one thousand Arcadians in Bœotia, near Cheronæa, who were endeavouring to return into their own country; these were all put to the sword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almost entirely deserted. Moved with the deplorable condition of that city, he ordered that the temples and houses should be spared; and that none of the inhabitants, either in the city or country, should be made prisoners, or put to death. He excepted from that number Pytheas, the author of all their miseries, who was brought to him, and put to death. From Thebes, after having taken Megara, the garrison of which had retired upon his approach, he made his troops march to Corinth, where Diæus had shut himself up. He sent thither three of the principal persons of the league, who had taken refuge with him, to exhort the Achæans to return to their duty, and accept the conditions of peace offered them. Metellus ardently desired to terminate the affair before the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants, on their side, were equally desirous of seeing a period of their misfortunes; but that was not in their power, the faction of Diæus disposing of every thing. The deputies were thrown into prison, and would have been put to death, if Diæus had not seen the multitude extremely enraged at the punishment he had in-

flicted upon Sosicrates, who talked of surrendering to the Romans. The prisoners were therefore dismissed.

Things were in this condition when Mummius arrived. He had hastened his march, from the fear of finding every thing pacified at his arrival, and lest another should have the glory of concluding this war. Metellus resigned the command to him, and returned into Macedonia. When Mummius had assembled all his troops, he advanced to the city, and encamped before it. A body of his advanced guard being negligent of duty upon their post, the besieged made a sally, attacked them vigorously, killed many, and pursued the rest almost to the entrance of their camp. This small advantage very much encouraged the Achæans, and thereby proved fatal to them. Diæus offered the consul battle. The latter, to augment his rashness, kept his troops within the camp, as if fear prevented him from accepting it. The joy and presumption of the Achæans rose to an inexpressible height. They advanced furiously with all their troops, having placed their wives and children upon the neighbouring eminences, to be spectators of the battle, and caused a great number of carriages to follow them, to be laden with the booty they should take from the enemy; so fully did they assure themselves of the victory.

Never was there a more rash or ill-founded confidence. The faction had removed from the service and counsels all such as were capable of commanding the troops, or conducting affairs, and had substituted others in their room, without either talents or ability; in order to their being more absolutely masters of the government, and ruling without opposition. The chief, without military knowledge, valour, or experience, had no other merit than a blind and frantic rage. They had already committed an excess of folly in hazarding a battle, which was to decide their fate, without necessity, instead of thinking of a long and brave defence in so strong a place as Corinth, and of obtaining good conditions by a vigorous resistance. The battle was fought near * Leucopetra, and the defile of the Isthmus. The consul had posted part of his horse in an ambuscade, which they quitted at a proper time for charging the Achæan cavalry in flank; who, surprised by an unforeseen attack, gave way immediately. The infantry made a little more resistance; but as it was neither covered nor sustained by the horse, it was soon broke and put

* This place is not known.

to flight. If Diæus had retired into the place, he might have held it some time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius, whose sole aim was to put an end to the war. But abandoning himself to his despair, he rode full speed to Megalopolis, his country; and having entered his house, set fire to it, killed his wife, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, drank poison, and in that manner put an end to his life, worthy of the many crimes he had committed.

After this defeat, the inhabitants lost all hope of defending themselves. As they found they were without counsel, leaders, courage, or views, nobody had any thoughts of rallying the wrecks of the army, in order to make any further resistance, and to oblige the victor to grant them some supportable conditions. So that all the Achæans who had retired into Corinth, and most of the citizens, quitted it the following night, to save themselves where they could. The consul having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers. All the men who were left in it, were put to the sword, and the women and children sold; and after the statues, paintings, and richest moveables, were removed in order to their being carried to Rome, the houses were set on fire, and the whole city continued universally in flames for several days. From that time the Corinthian brass became more famous than ever, though it had been in reputation long before. It is pretended, that the gold, silver, and brass, which was melted, and ran together in this conflagration, formed a new and precious metal. The walls were afterwards demolished and razed to their very foundations. All this was executed by order of the senate, to punish the insolence of the Corinthians, who had violated the law of nations in their treatment of the ambassadors sent to them by Rome.

Thus was Corinth ruined, the same year Carthage was taken and destroyed by the Romans, nine hundred and fifty-two years after its foundation by Aletes, the son of Hippotes, sixth in descent from Hercules. It does not appear that they had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defence of the country, or summoned any assembly to deliberate upon the measures it was necessary to take; nor that any one took upon him to propose any remedy for the public calamities, or endeavoured to appease the Romans, by sending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought from this general inactivity, that the Achæan league had been entirely

buried in the ruins of Corinth; so much had the dreadful destruction of that city alarmed, and universally dismayed the people.

The cities that had joined in the revolt of the Achæans, were also punished by the demolition of their walls, and by being disarmed. The ten commissioners sent by the senate to regulate the affairs of Greece, in conjunction with the consul, abolished popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates in them, who were to have a certain revenue out of the public funds. In other respects, they were left in possession of their laws and liberty. They abolished also all the general assemblies held by the Achæans, Bœotians, Phocæans, and other people of Greece; but they were re-established soon after. Greece, from that time, was reduced into a Roman province, called the province of Achaia; because, at the taking of Corinth, the Achæans were the most powerful people of Greece; the Roman people sent a prætor thither every year, to govern it.

Rome, by destroying Corinth in this manner, thought proper to shew that example of severity, in order to deter others, whom its too great clemency rendered bold, rash, and presuming, from the hope they had of obtaining the Roman people's pardon for their faults. Besides which, the advantageous situation of that city, where such as revolted might canton themselves, and make it a place of arms against the Romans, determined them to ruin it entirely. * Cicero, who did not disapprove of Carthage and Numantia being used in that manner, could have wished that Corinth had been spared.

The booty taken at Corinth was sold, and considerable sums raised from it. Amongst the paintings, there was a piece drawn by the most celebrated † hand in Greece, [r] representing Bacchus, the beauty of which was not known to the Romans, who were at that time entirely ignorant in the polite arts. Polybius, who was then in the country, as I shall soon observe, had the mortification to see that painting serve the soldiers for a table to play at dice upon. It was adjudged to Attalus, in the sale made of the booty, for six hundred thou-

r Strab. l. viii. p. 381. Plin. l. vii. c. 38. et l. xxxv. c. 4. et 10.

* Majores nostri—Carthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt. Sed credo illos secutos opportunitatem loci maxime, ne posset aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortati.—Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 35.

† This painter was called Aristides. The picture mentioned here, was in such estimation, that it was commonly said, "All paintings are nothing in comparison to "the Bacchus."

sand sesterces, that is, about three thousand six hundred and twenty-five pounds Sterling. Pliny mentions another picture of the same painter's, which the same Attalus purchased for an hundred talents, or an hundred thousand crowns. That prince's riches were immense, and were become a proverb: "Attalicis conditionibus." Nevertheless, these sums seem repugnant to probability. However it were, the consul, surprised that the price of the painting in question should rise so high, interposed his authority, and retained it contrary to public faith, and notwithstanding the complaints of Attalus; because he imagined there was some hidden virtue in the piece, unknown to him. He * did not act in that manner for his private interest, nor with the view of appropriating it to himself, as he sent it to Rome, to be applied in adorning the city. In doing which, says Cicero, he adorned and embellished his house much more essentially, than if he had placed the picture in it. The taking of the richest and most opulent city of Greece, did not enrich him one farthing. Such noble disinterestedness was at that time common in Rome, and seemed less the virtue of private persons, than of the age itself. To take the advantage of office and command for enriching a man's self, was not only shameful and infamous, but a criminal abuse. The painting we speak of, was set up in the temple of Ceres, whither the judges went to see it out of curiosity, as a master-piece of art: and it remained there till it was burned with that temple.

Mummius was a great warrior, and an excellent man, but had neither learning, knowledge of arts, nor taste for painting or sculpture; the merit of which he did not distinguish; not believing there was any difference between picture and picture, or statue and statue, nor that the name of the great masters in those arts gave them their value. This he fully explained upon the present occasion. He † had ordered persons to take care of transporting many of the paintings and

* Nam quid Lucius Mummius copiosior, cum copiosissimam urbem funditus sustulisset; Italiam ornare, quam domum suam, maluit. Quanquam Italia ornata, domus ipsa mihi videtur ornatior. Laus abstinentiæ non hominius est solum, sed etiam temporum.—Habere quæstui remp. non modo turpe est, sic sceleratum etiam et nefarium.—Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 76, 77.

† Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corintho, cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portendas locaret, juberit prædici conducentibus, si eas perdidissent, novas eas redditurus. Non tamen puto dubites, Vinici, quin magis pro republica fuerit, manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum, quam in tantam ea intelligi; et quin hac prudentia illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior.—Vell. Paterc. l. i. n. 13.

statues of the most excellent masters to Rome. Never had loss been so irreparable, as that of such a deposite, consisting of the master-pieces of those rare artists, who contributed almost as much as the great captains, to the rendering of their age glorious to posterity. Mummius, however, in recommending the care of that precious collection to those to whom he confided them, threatened them very seriously, that if the statues, paintings, and other things with which he charged them, should be either lost, or spoiled upon the way, he would oblige them to find others at their own cost and charges.

Were it not to be wished, says an historian, who has preserved us this fact, that this happy ignorance still subsisted? and would not such a grossness be infinitely preferable, in regard to the public good, to the exceeding delicacy of taste of the present age for such sort of rarities? He spoke at a time when that taste for excellent paintings amongst the magistrates, was the occasion of their committing all manner of frauds and robberies in the provinces.

I have said that Polybius, on returning into Peloponnesus, had the affliction to see the destruction and burning of Corinth, and his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. If any thing was capable of giving him consolation in so mournful a conjuncture, it was the opportunity of defending the memory of Philopœmen, his master in the service of war. I have already observed, that a Roman, having taken it into his head to have the statues erected to that hero taken down, had the imprudence to prosecute him criminally, as if he had been still alive, and to accuse him before Mummius, of having been an enemy to the Romans, and of having always opposed their designs to the utmost of his power. That accusation was extravagant, but had some colour in it, and was not entirely without foundation. Polybius boldly took upon him his defence. He represented Philopœmen as the greatest captain Greece had produced in the latter times; that he might, perhaps, have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far; but that he had rendered the Roman people considerable services upon several occasions, as in their wars against Antiochus and the Ætolians. The commissioners before whom he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, and still more with his gratitude for his master, decreed, that the statues of Philopœmen should

s Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190.—192.

continue as they were in all places. Polybius, taking the advantage of Mummius' good disposition, demanded also the statues of Aratus and Achæus; which were granted him, though they had already been carried out of Peloponnesus into Acarnania. The Achæans were so charmed with the zeal Polybius had expressed upon this occasion, for the honour of the great men of his country, that they erected a statue of marble to himself.

He gave at the same time a proof of his disinterestedness, which did him as much honour amongst his citizens, as his defence of the memory of Philopœmen. After the destruction of Corinth, it was thought proper to punish the authors of the insult done to the Roman ambassadors, and their estates and effects were sold by auction. When those of Diæus were put up, who had been the principal in that affront, the ten commissioners ordered the quæstor who sold them, to let Polybius take whatever he thought fit out of them, without taking from him any thing upon that account. He refused that offer, as advantageous as it appeared, and should have thought himself in some measure an accomplice of that wretch's crimes, had he accepted any part of his fortune; besides which, he believed it infamous to enrich himself out of the spoils of his fellow-citizens. He would not only accept nothing himself, but exhorted his friends not to desire any thing of what had appertained to Diæus; and all that followed his example were extremely applauded.

This action made the commissioners [t] conceive so high an esteem for Polybius, that, upon their leaving Greece, they desired him to go to all the cities which had been lately conquered, and to accommodate their differences, till time had accustomed them to the change which had been made, and to the new laws prescribed them. Polybius discharged that honourable commission with so much goodness, justice, and prudence, that no further contests arose in Achaia, either in regard to the government in general, or the affairs of particulars. In gratitude for so great a benefit, statues were erected to him in different places; upon the base of one of which was this inscription; "That Greece had been guilty "of no errors, if she had hearkened at the first to the coun- "sels of Polybius; but that, after her faults, he alone had "been her deliverer."

Polybius, after having established order and tranquillity in

t Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190, &c.

his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he accompanied him to Numantia, at the siege of which he was present. When Scipio was dead, he returned into Greece; and having enjoyed there [u] the esteem, gratitude, and affection of his beloved citizens, he died at the age of fourscore and two years, of a wound he received by a fall from his horse.

Metellus, upon his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia, and surnamed Macedonicus. The false king Andriscus was led before his chariot. Amongst the spoils, he caused what was called the troop of Alexander the Great to be carried in the procession. That prince, at the battle of the Granicus, having lost five-and-twenty of his friends, ordered Lysippus, the most excellent artist in that way, to make each of them an equestrian statue, to which he added his own. These statues were set up in Dium, a city of Macedonia. Metellus caused them to be transported to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

Mummius obtained also the honour of a triumph, and, in consequence of having conquered Achaia, was surnamed Achaicus. He exhibited a great number of statues and paintings in his triumph, which were afterwards made the ornaments of the public buildings at Rome, and of several other cities of Italy; but not one of them entered the conqueror's own house.

SECTION V.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CAUSES OF THE GRANDEUR, DECLENSION, AND RUIN OF GREECE.

After having seen the final ruin of Greece, which has supplied us through a series of so many ages with such fine examples of heroic virtues and memorable events, we may be admitted to return to the place from whence we began, and consider, by way of abridgement, and at one view, the rise, progress, and declension of the principal states that composed it. Their whole duration may be divided into four ages.

u Lucian. in Macrob. p. 142.

THE FIRST AND SECOND AGES OF GREECE.

I SHALL not dwell upon the ancient origin of the Greeks, nor the fabulous times before the Trojan war, which make the first age, and may be called the infancy of Greece.

The second age, which extends from the taking of Troy to the reign of Darius I. king of Persia, was in a manner its youth. In those early years it formed, fortified, and prepared itself for those great things it was afterwards to act, and laid the foundation of that power and glory, which at length rose so high, and became the admiration of all future ages.

The Greeks, as Monsieur [x] Bossuet observes, who had naturally abundance of wit, had been cultivated by kings and colonies which came from Egypt, who settling in several parts of the country, spread universally the excellent polity of the Egyptians. It was from them they learned the exercises of the body, wrestling, the horse, foot, and chariot races, and the other combats, which they carried to their highest perfection, in effect of the glorious crowns given to the victors in the Olympic games. But the best thing taught them by the Egyptians, was to be docile and obedient, and to suffer themselves to be formed by laws for the good of the public. They were not private persons, who regard nothing but their own interests and concerns, and have no sense of the calamities of the state but as they suffer themselves, or as the repose of their own family is involved in them: the Greeks were taught to consider themselves and their families as part of a greater body, which was that of the state. The fathers brought up their children in this opinion; and the children were taught from their cradle to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained than to their parents.

The Greeks, instituted thus by degrees, believed they were capable of governing for themselves, and most of the cities formed themselves into republics, under different forms of government, which had all of them liberty for their vital principle; but that liberty was wise, reasonable, and subservient to laws. The advantage of this government was, that their citizens loved their country the better from transacting their affairs in common, and from being all equally capable of its honours and dignities. Besides this, the condition of private persons, to which all returned when they quitted em-

x Universal History.

ployments, prevented them from abusing an authority, of which they might soon be deprived; whereas power often becomes haughty, unjust, and oppressive, when under no restraints, and when it is to have a long or continual duration.

The love of labour removed the vices and passions, which generally occasion the ruin of states. They led a laborious and busy life, intent upon the cultivation of lands and of arts, and not excluding the husbandman or the artist from the first dignities of the state; preserving between all the citizens and members of the state a great equality, void of pomp, luxury, or ostentation. He who had commanded the army for one year, fought the next in the rank of a private officer, and was not ashamed of the most common functions either in the armies by land or sea.

The reigning character in all the cities of Greece, was a particular affection for poverty, the means of fortune, simplicity in buildings, moveables, dress, equipage, domestics, and table. It is surprising to consider the small retributions with which they were satisfied for their application in public employments, and services rendered the state.

What might not be expected from a people formed in this manner, educated and nurtured in these principles, and endued from their earliest infancy with maxims so proper to exalt the soul, and to inspire it with great and noble sentiments? The effects exceeded all idea, and all hope that could possibly have been conceived of them.

THE THIRD AGE OF GREECE.

We now come to the glorious times of Greece, which have been, and will for ever be, the admiration of all ages. The merit and virtue of the Greeks, shut up within the compass of their cities, had but faintly dawned, and shone with but a feeble ray, till this age. To produce and place them in their full light, some great and important occasion was necessary, wherein Greece, attacked by a formidable enemy, and exposed to extreme dangers, was compelled in some measure to quit her home, and to show herself abroad in open day such as she was. And this was supplied by the Persians in their invasions of Greece, first under Darius, and afterwards under Xerxes. All Asia, armed with the whole force of the East, overflowed on a sudden, like an impetuous torrent, and came pouring with innumerable troops, both by sea and land, against a little

spot of Greece, which seemed under the necessity of being entirely swallowed up and overwhelmed at the first shock. Two small cities, however, Sparta and Athens, not only resist those formidable armies, but attack, defeat, pursue, and destroy the greatest part of them. Let the reader call to mind, which is all I have here in view, the prodigies of valour and fortitude, which shone out at that time, and continued to do so long after on like occasions. To what were the Greeks indebted for such astonishing successes, so much above all probability, unless to the principles I have mentioned, which were profoundly engraven in their hearts by education, example, and practice, and were become by long habit a second nature in them?

Those principles, we cannot repeat it too often, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, disregard of self-interest, attention to the public good, desire of glory, love of their country: and above all, such a zeal for liberty, which no danger was capable of intimidating, and such an irreconcileable abhorrence for whoever conceived the least thought against it, as united their counsels, and put an end to all dissension and discord in a moment.

There was some difference between the republics as to authority and power, but none in regard to liberty; on that side they were perfectly equal. The states of ancient Greece were exempted from that ambition which occasions so many wars in monarchies, and had no thoughts of aggrandizing themselves, or of making conquests at the expence of each other. They confined themselves to the cultivation, improvement, and defence of, but did not endeavour to usurp any thing from, their neighbours. The weaker cities, in the peaceable possession of their territory, did not apprehend invasion from the more powerful. This occasioned such a multitude of cities, republics, and states of Greece, which subsisted to the latest times in a perfect independence, retaining their own forms of government, with the laws, customs, and usages derived from their forefathers.

When we examine with some attention the conduct of these people, either at home or abroad, their assemblies, deliberations, and motives for the resolutions they take, we cannot sufficiently admire the wisdom of their government; and we are tempted to demand of ourselves, from whence could arise this greatness of soul in the burghers of Sparta and Athens; whence those noble sentiments, this consummate wisdom in politics, this profound and universal knowledge

in the art of war, whether for the invention and construction of machines for the attack and defence of places, or the drawing up and disposing all the motions of an army in battle; add to this, that supreme ability in maritime affairs, which always rendered their fleets victorious, which so gloriously acquired them the empire of the sea, and obliged the Persians to renounce it for ever by a solemn treaty?

We see here a remarkable difference between the Greeks and Romans. The latter, immediately after their conquests, suffered themselves to be corrupted by pride and luxury. After Antiochus had submitted to the Roman yoke, Asia, subdued by their victorious arms, conquered its conquerors by riches and voluptuousness; and that change of manners was very sudden and rapid, especially after Carthage, the haughty rival of Rome, was destroyed. It was not so with the Greeks. Nothing was more exalted than the victories they had gained over the Persians; nothing more soothing than the glory they had acquired by their great and illustrious exploits. After so glorious a period, the Greeks long persevered in the same love of simplicity, frugality, and poverty; the same remoteness from pomp and luxury; the same zeal and ardour for the defence of their liberty, and the preservation of their ancient manners. It is well known how much the islands and provinces of Asia Minor, over which the Greeks so often triumphed, were abandoned to effeminate pleasures and luxury: they, however, never suffered themselves to be infected by that contagious softness, and constantly preserved themselves from the vices of conquered people. It is true, they did not make those countries provinces, but their commerce and example alone might have proved very dangerous to them.

The introduction of gold and silver into Sparta, from whence they were banished under severe penalties, did not happen till about fourscore years after the battle of Salamin; and the ancient simplicity of manners subsisted very long afterwards, notwithstanding that violation of the laws of Lycurgus. As much may be said of the rest of Greece, which did not grow weak and degenerate, but slowly and by degrees. This is what it remains to show.

THE FOURTH AGE OF GREECE.

The principal cause of the weakening and declension of the Greeks, was the disunion which rose up among them-

selves. The Persians, who had found them invincible on the side of arms, as long as their union subsisted, applied their whole attention and policy in sowing the seeds of discord amongst them. For that reason they employed their gold and silver, which succeeded much better than their steel and arms had done before. The Greeks, attacked invisibly in this manner by bribes secretly conveyed into the hands of those who had the greatest share in their governments, were divided by domestic jealousies, and turned their victorious arms against themselves, which had rendered them superior to their enemies.

Their decline of power from these causes, gave Philip and Alexander opportunity to subject them. Those princes, to accustom them to servitude the more agreeable, coloured their design with avenging them upon their ancient enemies. The Greeks fell blindly into that gross snare, which gave the mortal blow to their liberty. Their avengers became more fatal to them than their enemies. The yoke imposed on them by the hands which had conquered the universe, could never be removed; those little states were no longer in a condition to shake it off. Greece, from time to time animated by the remembrance of its ancient glory, roused from its lethargy, and made some attempts to reinstate itself in its ancient condition; but those efforts were ill concerted, and as ill sustained by its expiring liberty, and tended only to augment its slavery; because the protectors, whom it called in to its aid, soon made themselves its masters. So that all it did was to change its fetters, and to make them the heavier.

The Romans at length totally subjected it; but it was by degrees, and with abundance of artifice. As they continually pushed on their conquests from province to province, they perceived, that they should find a barrier to their ambitious projects in Macedonia, formidable by its neighbourhood, advantageous situation, reputation in arms, and very powerful in itself, and by its allies. The Romans artfully applied to the small states of Greece, from whom they had less to fear, and endeavoured to gain them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and of which they knew how to awaken in them their ancient ideas. After having with great address made use of the Greeks to reduce and destroy the Macedonian power, they subjected all those states, one after another, under various pretexts. Greece was thus swallowed up at last in the Roman empire, and became a province of it, under the name of Achaia.

It did not lose with its power [y] that ardent passion for liberty, which was its peculiar character. The Romans, when they reduced it into a province, reserved to the people almost all their privileges; and Sylla [z], who punished them so cruelly sixty years after, for having favoured the arms of Mithridates, did not abridge those of their liberty, who escaped his vengeance. In the civil wars of Italy, the Athenians were seen to espouse with warmth the party of Pompey [a], who fought for the republic. Julius Cæsar revenged himself upon them no otherwise than by declaring, that he pardoned them out of consideration for their ancestors. But, after Cæsar was killed, their inclination for liberty made them forget his clemency. They erected statues to Brutus and Cassius, near those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the ancient deliverers of Athens, and did not take them down till solicited by Anthony, when become their friend, benefactor, and magistrate.

After having been deprived of their ancient power, they still retained another sovereignty, which the Romans could not take from them, and to which themselves were obliged to pay homage. Athens continued always the metropolis of the sciences, the school of polite arts, and the centre and standard of refined taste in all the productions of the mind. Several cities, as Byzantium, Cæsarea, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Rhodes, shared that glory with Athens, and by its example opened schools, which became very famous. Rome, all haughty as she was, acknowledged this glorious empire. She sent her most illustrious citizens to be finished and refined in Greece. They were instructed there in all the parts of sound philosophy, the knowledge of mathematics, the science of natural things, the rules of manners and duties, the art of reasoning with justice and method: all the treasures of eloquence were imbibed there, and the method taught of treating the greatest subjects with propriety, force, elegance, and perspicuity.

A Cicero, already the admiration of the bar, conceived he wanted something, and did not blush to become the disciple of the great masters Greece then produced. Pompey, in the midst of his glorious conquests, did not think it a dishonour to him, in passing Rhodes, to hear the celebrated philosophers, who taught there with great reputation, and to make himself in some measure their disciple.

y Strab. l. xi. z Plut. in Sylla.
a Diod. l. xlii. p. 191, et l. xlvii. p. 339.

Nothing shows better the respect retained for the ancient reputation of Greece, than a letter of Pliny [b] the Younger. He writes in this manner to Maximus, appointed governor of that province by Trajan. "Call to mind, my dear Maximus, "that you are going into Achaia, the true Greece, the same "Greece where learning and the polite arts had their birth; "where even agriculture was invented, according to the com- "mon opinion. Remember that you are sent to govern free "cities and free men, if ever any such there were; who, by "their virtues, actions, alliances, treaties, and religion, have "known how to preserve the liberty they received from na- "ture. Revere the gods their founders; respect their he- "roes, the ancient glory of their nation, and the sacred anti- "quity of their cities, the dignity, great exploits, and even "foibles and vanity of that people. Remember, it is from "those sources that we have derived our law; that we did "not impose our laws upon them, after we had conquered "them, but that they gave us theirs, at our request, before "they were acquainted with the power of our arms. In a "word, it is to Athens you are going; it is at Lacedæmon "you are to command. It would be inhuman and barbar- "ous to deprive them of that faint image, that shadow which "they retain of their ancient liberty."

Whilst the Roman empire was declining, that empire of genius, of the mind, always supported itself, without participating in the revolutions of the other. Greece was resorted to for education and improvement from all parts of the world. In the fourth and fifth centuries, those great lights of the church, St Basil, St Gregory Nazianzen, St Johannes Chrysostom, went to Athens to imbibe, as their source, all the profane sciences. The emperors themselves, [c] who could not go to Greece, brought Greece in a manner home to them, by receiving the most celebrated philosophers into their palaces, in order to their being intrusted with the education of their children, and to improve themselves by their instructions. Marcus Aurelius, even whilst he was emperor, went to hear the philosophers Apollonius and Sextus, and to take lessons from them as a common disciple.

By a new kind of victory, unknown before, Greece had imposed its laws on Egypt and the whole East, from whence she had expelled barbarism, and introduced a taste for the arts and sciences in its room; obliging, by a kind of right of con-

b Lib. viii. c. 24. c Tit. Antonius, M. Aurelius, Lucius Verus, &c.

quest, all those nations to receive her language and adopt her customs: a testimonial highly for the glory of a people, and which argues a much more illustrious superiority, than that not founded in merit, but solely upon the force of arms. Plutarch observes somewhere, that no Greek ever thought of learning Latin, and that a Roman who did not understand Greek was in no great estimation.

ARTICLE III.

It seems, that after the subjection of Macedonia and Greece to the Romans, our history, confined for the future to two principal kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria, should become more clear and intelligible than ever. I am, however, obliged to own, that it will be more obscure and perplexed than it has been hitherto, especially in regard to the kingdom of Syria; in which several kings not only succeed one another in a short space, but sometimes reign jointly, and at the same time, to the number of three or four; which occasions a confusion difficult to unravel, and from which I find it hard to extricate myself. This induces me to prefix in this place the names, succession, and duration of the reigns of the kings of Egypt and Syria. This small chronological abridgement may contribute to cast some light upon facts, which are exceedingly complex, and serve as a clue to guide the reader in a kind of labyrinth, where the most clear-sighted will have occasion for assistance. It enlarges the work a little, but it may be passed over, and recourse be only had to it, when it is necessary to be set right: I insert it here only with that view.

This third article contains the space of an hundred years for the kingdom of Egypt, from the twentieth year of Ptolemy Philometer, to the expulsion of Ptolemy Auletus from the throne; that is, from the year of the world 3845, to 3946.

As to the kingdom of Syria, the same article contains almost the space of an hundred years from Antiochus Eupator to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire; that is, from the year of the world 3840, to the year 3939.

SECTION I.

CHRONLOGICAL ABRIDGEMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT AND SYRIA.

Kings of Egypt.	*Kings of Syria.*	*AM*
Ptolemy Philometer reigned something more than 34 years. This article contains only 14 years of his reign. Differences between Philometer and his brother Evergetes, or Physcon.		3824
	Antiochus Eupator, aged nine years, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes. He reigns only two years.	3840
	Demetrius Soter, Son of Seleucus Philopator, having escaped from Rome, ascends the throne.	3832
	Bala, under the name of Alexander, giving himself out for the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, seizes the throne of Syria. He is supported by the Romans.	3851
	Demetrius is killed in a battle. He had reigned twelve years.	
	Alexander Bala. He reigns almost five years.	3859
	Ptolemæus Philometer declares against him in favour of Demetrius Nicator, son of Demetrius Soter.	3859
Ptolemy Evergetes, otherwise called Physcon, brother of Philometer, ascends the throne, and marries Cleopatra, Philometer's wife.	Demetrius Nicator.	
	Antiochus Theos, son of Bala, supported by Tryphon, seizes part of the kingdom.	3860
	Diodotes Tryphon, after having got rid of his pupil Antiochus, ascends the throne.	3861
	Demetrius marches against the Parthians, who take him prisoner, and confine him. He had reigned seven years.	3862
	Antiochus Sidetes, brother of Demetrius, after having overthrown Tryphon, and put him to death, is declared king. Cleopatra, Demetrius' wife, marries him.	3864

A M	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Syria.	
3873			Antiochus Sidetes marches against the Parthians.
3874	Physcon expels Cleopatra his wife, and marries his daughter, named also Cleopatra. He is reduced to fly. The Alexandrians restore the government to Cleopatra, his first wife.	Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.	The Parthians send back Demetrius into Syria. Antiochus is slain.
3877	Physcon re-ascends the throne.	Demetrius is killed by Zebina. Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, retains part of the kingdom after his death.	Alexander Zebina, supported by Physcon, expels Demetrius from the throne, who is killed soon after.
3880		Seleucus V. eldest son of Demetrius, is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra. Antiochus Grypus, his younger brother, is placed on the throne by Cleopatra.	
9862			Zebina is overthrown by Grypus, and dies soon after.
3884		Cleopatra designs to poison Grypus, and is poisoned herself.	
3887	Death of Physcon. He had reigned 29 years. Ptolemy Lathyrus, or Soter, succeeds Physcon. Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra, his elder sister, and marry Selena, his youngest sister. Cleopatra gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander, her youngest son.		
3890			Antiochus, the Cyzicenian, son of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetes, takes arms against Grypus.

Kings of Egypt.	*Kings of Syria.*		*A M*
		Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, marries the Cyzicenian. She is killed by the order of Tryphena, wife of Grypus.	3891
		The Cyzicenian gains a victory over Grypus, and drives him out of Syria.	3892
	Grypus is reconciled with his brother the Cyzicenian.	The two brothers are reconciled, and divide the empire of Syria.	3893
Cleopatra expels Lathyrus from Egypt: He had reigned 10 yrs. She sets his younger brother Alex. upon the throne.			3897
She gives her daughter Selena, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, in marriage to Antiochus Grypus.		Cleopatra gives her daughter Selena to Antiochus Grypus.	3903
	Death of Grypus. He had reigned twenty-seven years.		3907
	Seleucus, his son, succeeds him.		
		Antiochus, the Cyzicenian, is overthrown, and put to death.	3910
	Seleucus is overthrown by Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia.	Antiochus Eusebes, son of the Cyzicenian, causes himself to be declared king.	3911
		Eusebes marries Selena, widow of Grypus.	
	Antiochus XI. brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem, and is killed by Eusebes.		3912
	Philip, his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him.		3913
	Demetrius Euchares, fourth son of Grypus, is established upon the throne at Damascus, by the assistance of Lathyrus.		3914

AM	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Syria.	
3915	Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.		
3916	Alexander is expelled himself: He had reigned 19 years. He died soon after. Lathyrus is recalled.		Eusebes, overthrown by Philip and Demetrius, takes refuge amongst the Parthians.
3918		Demetrius, having been taken by the Parthians, Antiochus Dionysius, fifth son of Grypus, is placed upon the throne of Damascus, and is killed the following year.	He is re-established upon the throne by their means.
3921		The Syrians, weary of so many divisions and revolutions, elect Tigranes king of Armenia. He reigns by a viceroy fourteen years.	
	Death of Lathyrus.		Eusebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he remains concealed.
3923	Alexander II. son of Alexander I. under Sylla's protection, is chosen king. He marries Cleopatra, called otherwise Berenice, and kills her 17 days after. He reigned fifteen years.		Selena his wife, retains part of Phœnicia and Cœlosyria, and gives her two sons a good education.
3935		Tigranes recals Megadates his viceroy from Syria, who commanded there fourteen years in his name.	Syria being unprovided with troops, Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, takes possession of some part of the country, and reigns there during four years.
3939	The Alexandrians expel Alexander. Ptolemy Auletes, bastard son of Lathyrus, is placed upon the throne.		Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. The house of the Seleucides is extinct with him.

SECTION II.

ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR SUCCEEDS TO THE KINGDOM OF SYRIA, JUDAS MACCABEUS' CELEBRATED VICTORIES.

We have long lost sight of the * history of the kings of Syria, and that of the kings of Egypt, which have generally no small connection with each other. I am now going to resume the thread of them, which will not be interrupted any more.

Antiochus, surnamed Eupator [d], aged only nineteen, succeeded his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria. The latter, at his death, sent for Philip his favourite, who had been brought up with him. He gave him the regency of the kingdom during his son's minority, and put his crown, signet, and all the other marks of the royal dignity, into his hands; recommending to him, above all things, to employ his whole care in educating his son in such a manner as was most proper to instruct him in the art of reigning.

Philip, on his arrival at Antioch, found that another had usurped the employment, which the late king had confided to him. Lysias, upon the first advice of the death of Epiphanes, had placed his son Antiochus upon the throne, whose governor he was, and had taken upon himself, with the guardianship, the reins of the government, without any regard to the king's regulation at his death. Philip knew well, that he was not at that time in a condition to dispute it with him, and retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding, at that court, the assistance he wanted for the repossession of his right, and the expulsion of the usurper.

Much about the same time, Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœlosyria and Palestine, from the enemy he had been till then to the Jews, became on a sudden their friend; moved, as the scripture says, with the crying injustice which had been committed in regard to them. He put a stop to the rigour of the persecution against them, and employed his whole credit to obtain a peace for them. By this conduct he gave his enemies occasion to hurt him. They prejudiced the king

d A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. Appian. in Syr. p. 187. 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 Maccab. ix. 29. et. 10.—13. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 14.

* It is treated last towards the end of Book XVIII. Article II. Sect II. and III.

against him, by representing him perpetually as a traitor: because he had in reality betrayed the interests of his first master, Ptolemy Philometer, king of Egypt, who had entrusted him with the government of the island of Cyprus, and had given up that island to Antiochus Epiphanes, upon entering into his service. For, how advantageous soever the treason might be, the traitor, as is usual, was hated. At length, they did so much by their clamour and cabals, that he was deprived of his government, which was given to Lysias; no other post or pension being conferred on him to support his dignity. He had not force of mind enough to bear his downfal, and poisoned himself; an end he had well deserved for his treason, and share in the cruel persecution of the Jews.

Judas Maccabeus[e] at this time signalized his valour by several considerable victories over the enemies of the people of God, who continually made an implacable war against him. The little time that Antiochus Epiphanes survived the favourable inclination he had expressed for the Jews, would not admit him to revoke in form his decree for obliging them to change their religion. The court of Syria, which always considered the Jews as rebels desirous of throwing off its yoke, and had great interest in making so powerful a neighbouring people submit to it, had no regard to some transient demonstrations of the dying prince's favour to them. They always persisted in the same principles of policy, and continued to look upon that nation as an enemy, whose sole view was to shake off their chains, and to support themselves in liberty of conscience with regard to religion. Such were the dispositions of Syria in regard to the Jews.

Demetrius,[f] son of Seleucus Philopator, who, from the year his father died, had remained an hostage at Rome, was in his twenty-third year, when he was informed of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the accession of his son Eupator to the crown, which he pretended to be his right, as the son of Epiphanes' eldest brother. He proposed to the senate his re-establishment upon his father's throne; and to engage them in it, he represented, that having been bred up at Rome, he should always regard it as his native country, the senators as his fathers, and their sons as his brothers. The senate had

e 1 Maccab. v. 1.—68. 2 Maccab. x. 14.—38.

f A. M. 3841. Ant. J. C. 163. Polyb. Legat. cvii. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian in Syr. p. 117.

more regard for the interests of the republic, than the rights of Demetrius, and thought it more advantageous for the Romans, that there should be a king in his minority upon the throne of Syria, than a prince like Demetrius, who might at length become formidable to them. They therefore made a decree to confirm Eupator, and sent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, with the character of ambassadors, into Syria, to regulate all things conformably to the treaty made with Antiochus the Great. The same ambassadors had instructions to accommodate, if possible, the differences between the two kings of Egypt.

Lysias [g], terrified by the victories of Judas Maccabeus, formed an army of fourscore thousand foot, and took with him all the cavalry of the kingdom, with fourscore elephants: at the head of all these forces he marched into Judæa, with the resolution to settle strange inhabitants that worshipped idols in Jerusalem. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bethsura, a fortress between Idumæa and Jerusalem. Judas Maccabeus, and the whole people, beseeched the Lord, with tears in their eyes, to send his angel for the preservation of Israel. Full of confidence in God, they took the field. When they marched all together, with assured courage, out of Jerusalem, there * appeared an horseman marching before them. His habit was white, with arms of gold, and he held a lance in his hand. That sight filled them with new ardour. They threw themselves upon the enemy like lions, killed twelve thousand six hundred men, and obliged the rest to fly, most of them wounded and without arms.

After this check, Lysias [h], weary of so unsuccessful a war, and, as the scripture says, "believing the Jews invincible, "when supported by the aid of the Almighty God," made a treaty with Judas and the Jewish nation, which Antiochus ratified. One of the articles of this peace was, that the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes, which obliged the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, should be revoked and cancelled, and that they should be at liberty to live in all places according to their own laws.

This peace was of no long duration. The neighbouring people were too much the enemies of the Jews, to leave them long in repose. Timotheus, one of the king's generals, assem-

g 2 Maccab. ix. 1.—38. x. 1.—7. xiii. 1.—24. 1 Maccab. v. 65.—68. vi. 19.—63. Joseph. Antiq. c. xii. h Ibid. xi. 13.

* It was an angel, perhaps St Michael, protector of the people of God.

bled all his forces, and raised an army of one hundred and twenty thousand foot, without including the horse, which amounted to five-and-twenty thousand. Judas, full of confidence in the God of armies, marched against him with troops very much inferior as to number. He attacked and defeated him. Timotheus lost thirty thousand men in this battle, and saved himself with great difficulty. This defeat was followed by many advantages on the side of Judas, which proved, that God alone is the source of valour, intrepidity, and success in war. He showed this in the most sensible manner, by the evident and singular protection which he gave to a people, of whom he was in a peculiar manner the guide and director.

A new army was raised of one hundred thousand foot, with twenty thousand horse, and two-and-thirty elephants, and three hundred chariots of war. The king in person, with Lysias the regent of the kingdom, put themselves at the head of it, and entered Judæa. Judas, relying upon the omnipotence of God, the Creator of the universe, and having exhorted his troops to fight to the last drop of their blood, marched and posted himself in the front of the king's camp. After having given his troops for the word of battle, "the Victory "of God," he chose the bravest men of his army, and with them, in the night, attacked the king's quarters. They killed four thousand men, and retired, after having filled his whole camp with confusion and dismay.

Though the king knew from thence the extraordinary valour of the Jews, he did not doubt but they would be overpowered at length by the number of his troops and elephants. He resolved therefore to come to a general battle with them. Judas, without being intimidated by the terrible preparations for it, advanced with his army, and gave the king battle, in which the Jews killed a great number of the enemy. Eleazer, a Jew, seeing an elephant larger than the rest, covered with the king's arms, and believing the king was upon it, sacrificed himself to preserve the people, and to acquire immortal fame. He forced his way boldly to the elephant, through the line of battle, killing and overthrowing all that opposed him. Then placing himself under the beast's belly, he pierced it in such a manner, that it fell and crushed him to death underneath it.

Judas, however, and his troops, fought with extraordinary resolution. But at length, exhausted by the fatigue, and no longer able to support the weight of the enemy, they chose to

retire. The king followed them, and besieged the fortress of Bethsura. That place, after a long and vigorous defence, was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender by capitulation.

From thence Antiochus marched against Jerusalem, and besieged the temple. Those who defended it were reduced to the same extremities with the garrison of Bethsura, and would, like them, have been obliged to surrender, if Providence had not relieved them by an unforeseen accident. I have observed, that Philip had retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding assistance there against Lysias. But the divisions which arose between the two brothers, who reigned jointly, as has been said elsewhere, soon undeceived him. Finding that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, he returned into the East, assembled some troops of Medes and Persians, and taking advantage of the king's absence upon his expedition against Judæa, he seized the capital of the empire. Upon that news, Lysias thought it necessary to make peace with the Jews, in order to turn his arms against his rival in Syria. The peace was accordingly concluded upon very advantageous and honourable conditions. Antiochus swore to observe it, and was admitted to enter the fortifications of the temple, with the sight of which he was so much terrified, that, contrary to his faith given, and the oath he had sworn in regard to the peace, he caused them to be demolished before he set out for Syria. The sudden return of Antiochus drove Philip out of Antioch, and put an end to his short regency, and soon after to his life.

The troubles [i] occasioned by the divisions between the two Ptolemies, which we have just now mentioned, rose so high, that the Roman senate gave orders to the ambassadors they had sent into Syria, to proceed to Alexandria, and to use all their endeavours to reconcile them. Before they arrived there, Physcon, the youngest, surnamed Evergetes, had already expelled his brother Philometer. The latter embarked for Italy, and landed at Brundusium. From thence he went the rest of the way to Rome on foot, very ill dressed, and with few followers, and demanded of the senate the necessary aid for replacing him upon the throne.

As soon as Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, who was still an hostage at Rome, was apprised of the

i A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Porphyr. in Cr. Eus. Scalig. p. 60, et 68. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 322. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 1. Polyb. Legat. 113. Epit. Liv. l. 46.

unhappy condition to which that fugitive prince was reduced, he caused royal robes and an equipage to be got ready for him, that he might appear in Rome as a king, and went to meet him with all he had ordered to be prepared for his use. He found him twenty-six miles, that is, at nine or ten leagues distance from Rome. Ptolemy expressed great gratitude to him for his goodness, and the honour he did him; but did not think proper to accept his present, nor permit him to attend him the rest of his journey. He finished it on foot, and with the same attendants and habit he had worn till then. In that manner he entered Rome, and took up his lodging with a painter of Alexandria, who had but a very small house. His design, by all these circumstances, was to express the misery he was reduced to, and the better to move the compassion of the Romans.

When the senate were informed of his arrival, they sent to desire he would come to them; and to excuse their not having prepared a house for his reception, and that he had not been paid the honours at his entry with which it was the custom to treat princes of his rank, they assured him, that it was neither for want of consideration for his person, nor out of neglect, but because his coming had surprised them, and had been kept so secret, that they were not apprised of it till after he had entered Rome. Afterwards, having desired him to quit the habit he wore, and to demand an audience of the senate, in order to explain the occasion of his voyage, he was conducted by some of the senators to a house suitable to his birth; and orders were given to the quæstors and treasurers, to see him served and supplied, at the expence of the public, with all things necessary during his residence at Rome.

When they gave him audience, and he had represented his condition to the Romans, they immediately resolved to re-establish him; and deputed two of the senators, with the character of ambassadors, to go with him to Alexandria, and cause their decree to be put in execution. They reconducted him accordingly, and succeeded in negotiating an accommodation between the two brothers. Libya, and the province of Cyrene, were given to Physcon: Philometer had Egypt and the Isle of Cyprus, and each of them was declared independent of the other in the dominions assigned them. The treaty and agreement were confirmed with the customary oaths and sacrifices.

But oaths and sacrifices had long been, with the generality of princes, no more than simple ceremonies and mere forms,

by which they did not think themselves bound in the least. And this way of thinking is but too common. Soon after, the youngest of the two kings, dissatisfied with the partition which had been made, went in person to complain of it to the senate. He demanded, that the treaty of partition should be annulled, and that he should be restored to the possession of the isle of Cyprus. He alleged, that he had been forced, by the necessity of the times, to comply with the former proposals, and that, though Cyprus should be granted him, his part would still be far from equal to his brother's. Menethyllus, whom the elder had deputed to Rome, made it appear that Physcon held not only Libya and Cyrenaica, but his life also, from the goodness of his brother; that he had made himself so much the abhorrence of the people, by his violent proceedings, that they would have left him neither life nor government, had not his brother snatched him from their resentment, by making himself mediator. That at the time he was preserved from this danger, he thought himself too happy in reigning over the region allotted to him; and that both sides had ratified the treaty before the altar of the gods, and sworn to observe their agreement with each other. Quintius and Canuleius, who had negociated the accommodation between the brothers, confirmed the truth of all Menethyllus advanced.

The senate, seeing that the partition was not actually equal, artfully took the advantage of the quarrel between the two brothers, to diminish the strength of the kingdom of Egypt by dividing it, and granted the younger what he demanded: For such was then the policy of the Romans. Polybius makes this reflection. They made the quarrels and differences of princes the means of extending and strengthening their own power, and behaved in regard to them with so much address, that whilst they acted solely from their own interest, the contending parties were however obliged to them. As therefore the great power of Egypt gave them reason to apprehend it would become too formidable if it fell into the hands of one sovereign, who knew how to use it, they adjudged the isle of Cyprus to Physcon. Demetrius, who did not lose sight of the throne of Syria, and whose interest in that view it was, that so powerful a prince as the king of Egypt should not continue in possession of the island of Cyprus, supported the demand of Physcon with his whole credit. The Romans made T. Torquatus and Cn. Merula set out with the latter, to put him in possession of it.

During [k] that prince's stay at Rome, he had often the opportunity of seeing Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and caused proposals of marriage to be made to her. But being the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul and censor, she rejected his offers, and believed it more honourable to be one of the first ladies of Rome, than queen of Libya, with Physcon.

Physcon set out from Rome with the two Roman ambassadors. Their plan was to concert an interview between the two brothers upon the frontier, and to bring them into an accommodation by the method of treaty, according to the senate's instructions. Philometer did not explain himself openly at first. He spun out the affair to as great a length as he could, upon different pretexts, with a design of making use of the time in taking secret measures against his brother. At length he declared plainly, that he was resolved to stand to the first treaty, and that he would make no other.

The Cyrenæans, in the mean time [l], informed of the ill conduct of Physcon during his being possessed of the government at Alexandria, conceived so strong an aversion for him, that they resolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted, but Philometer had taken pains underhand to excite those troubles. Physcon, who had been overthrown by the rebels in a battle, having almost lost all hope, sent two deputies with the Roman ambassadors back to Rome, with orders to lay his complaints against his brother before the senate, and to solicit their protection. The senate, offended at Philometer's refusal to evacuate the island of Cyprus, according to their decree, declared the amity and alliance between him and the Romans void, and ordered his ambassadors to quit Rome in five days.

Physcon found means to re-establish himself in Cyrenaica, but made himself so generally hated by his subjects, through his ill conduct, that some of them fell upon him, and wounded him in several places, and left him for dead upon the spot. He ascribed this to his brother Philometer; and when he was recovered of his wounds, undertook again a voyage to Rome. He there made his complaints against him to the senate, showed the scars of his wounds, and accused him of having employed the assassins from whom he received them. Though Philometer was the most humane of all princes, and could

k Plut. in Tib. Grac. p. 824.

l A. M. 3843. Ant. J. C. 161. Polyb. Legat. cxxxii. Id. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 197. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 334.

not be the least suspected of so black and barbarous an action, the senate, who were angry at his refusal to submit to the regulation they had made in regard to the isle of Cyprus, gave ear to this false accusation with too much facility. They carried their prejudice so high against him, that they would not so much as hear what his ambassadors had to say in his defence. Orders were sent them to quit Rome immediately. Besides which, the senate appointed five commissioners to conduct Physcon into Cyprus, and to put him in possession of that island, and wrote to all their allies near it, to aid him for that purpose with all their troops.

[m] Physcon, by this means, with an army which seemed to him sufficient for the execution of his design, landed in the island. Philometer, who had gone thither in person, beat him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Lapitho, where he was soon invested, besieged, and at length taken, and put into the hand of a brother he had so cruelly injured. Philometer's exceeding goodness appeared upon this occasion. After all that Physcon had done against him, it was expected, that having him in his power, he would make him sensible of his indignation and revenge. He pardoned him every thing; and not contented to forgive him his faults, he even restored him Libya and Cyrenaica, and added further some amends in lieu of the isle of Cyprus. That act of generosity put an end to the war between the two brothers. It was not renewed, and the Romans were ashamed of opposing any longer a prince of such extraordinary clemency. There is no reader, who does not secretly pay the homage of esteem and admiration to so generous an action. Such inward sentiments, which rise from nature and prevent reflections, imply how great and noble it is to forget and pardon injuries, and what a meanness of soul there is in the resentment of the revengeful.

SECTION III.

OCTAVIUS THE ROMAN AMBASSADOR IN SYRIA, IS THERE KILLED. DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEUS.

We have [n] seen, that the principal objects of the commission of the three Roman ambassadors, Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lu-

m A. M. 3847. Ant. J. C. 157.

n A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Appian in Syr. p. 117. Polyb. Legat. cxiv, et cxxii. Cicer. Philip. ix. n. 4, 5. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

cretius, and L. Aurelius, who went first into Egypt, was to go into Syria, in order to regulate the affairs of that nation. When they arrived there, they found the king had more ships and elephants than had been stipulated by the treaty made with Antiochus the Great after the battle of Sipylus. They caused the ships to be burned, and the elephants to be killed, which exceeded the number stated in that treaty, and disposed all things else in such a manner as they thought most to the advantage of the Romans. This treatment seemed insupportable, and exasperated the people against them. A person, named Leptinus, was so incensed at it, that in his rage he fell upon * Octavius, whilst he was bathing, and killed him. It was suspected that Lysias, the regent of the kingdom, had secretly a hand in this assassination. Ambassadors were immediately sent to Rome, to justify the king, and to protest, that he had no share in the action. The senate sent them back without giving them any answer, to signify, by that silence, their indignation for the murder committed upon the person of Octavius, of which they reserved the examination and punishment to themselves. In the mean time, to do honour to his memory, they erected a statue to him amongst those of the great men who had lost their lives in defence of their country.

Demetrius believed, that the disgust of the Romans against Eupator was a favourable conjuncture, of which it was proper for him to take the advantage, and addressed himself a second time to the senate, to obtain their permission to return into Syria. He took this step contrary to the opinion of the greatest part of his friends, who advised him to make his escape, without saying any thing. The event soon showed him how much they were in the right. As the senate had always the same motives of interest for keeping him at Rome as at first, he received the same answer, and had the mortification of a second denial. He then had recourse to the first advice of his friends; and Polybius, the historian, who was at Rome, was one of those who pressed him with the utmost warmth to put it in immediate execution with secrecy. He took his advice. After concerting all his measures, he left Rome under pretence of an hunting-match, went to Ostia,

* This Octavius had been consul some years before, and was the first of his family who had attained that honour.—Cic. Philip. ix. c. 4. Octavius, who became emperor, so well known under the name of Augustus, was of the same family with this Octavius, but of another branch, into which the consular dignity had never entered.

and embarked with a small train in a Carthaginian vessel bound for Tyre that waited for him *. It was three days before it was known at Rome that he had stolen away. All that the senate could do was, some days after, to send Tib. Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia, into Syria, to observe what effect the return of Demetrius would produce there.

Demetrius [o] having landed at Tripoli in Syria, a report spread, that the senate had sent him to take possession of his dominions, and had resolved to support him in them. Eupator was immediately looked upon as a lost man, and all the world abandoned him to join Demetrius. Eupator and Lysias, seized by their own troops, were delivered up to the new-comer, who ordered them to be put to death. Demetrius saw himself established by this means upon the throne without opposition, and with prodigious rapidity.

One of the first actions of his reign was to deliver the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides, who had been the two great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes. He had made the first governor, and the second treasurer, of that province. Timarchus having added rebellion to his other crimes, Demetrius caused him to be put to death. He contented himself with banishing the other. The Babylonians were so much rejoiced to see themselves freed from the oppression of those two brothers, that from thenceforth they gave their deliverer the title of Soter, or Saviour, which he bore ever afterwards.

Alcimus, whom Antiochus Eupator had made high-priest of the Jews after the death of Menelaus, not being qualified to be admitted by them in that capacity, because he had profaned the sanctity of the priesthood, by following the impious customs of the Greeks, under Antiochus Epiphanes; this man gathered together all the apostate Jews, who had taken refuge at Antioch, after having been expelled Judæa, and putting himself at their head, came to petition the new king to defend them from the oppressions of Judas and his brothers, advancing a thousand calumnies against them. He accused them of having killed all persons that fell into their hands of Demetrius' party, and of having forced him, with all those

o 1 Maccab. vii. viii. ix. et 2 Maccab. xiv. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii, xiii. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 8.

* That ship carried to Tyre, according to custom, the first-fruits of the lands and revenues of Carthage.

in his company, to abandon their country, and seek their security elsewhere. Demetrius immediately ordered Bacchis, governor of Mesopotamia, to march into Judæa at the head of an army; and confirming Alcimus in his office, he joined him in commission with Bacchis, and charged them both with the care of this war. Judas rendered all the efforts of this first army ineffectual, as he did of a second, commanded by Nicanor. The latter, enraged at the last defeat of the troops of Syria, and that an handful of men should make head against such numerous and warlike armies, and knowing that they placed their whole confidence with regard to victory in the protection of the God of Israel, and in the promises made in the temple where he was honoured, had uttered a thousand blasphemies against the Almighty, and against his temple. He was soon punished for them. Judas gave him a bloody battle, and of his army of thirty-five thousand men, not one escaped to carry the news of the defeat to Antioch. The body of Nicanor was found amongst the dead. His head and right hand, which he had lifted up against the temple when he threatened to destroy it, were cut off, and placed upon one of the towers of Jerusalem.

Judas, after this complete victory, having some relaxation, sent an embassy to Rome. He saw himself continually attacked by the whole forces of Syria, without being able reasonably to rely upon any treaty of peace. He had no aid to expect from the neighbouring people, who, far from interesting themselves for the preservation of the Jewish nation, entertained no thoughts but of extirpating them in concert with the Syrians. He had been informed that the Romans, equally esteemed for their justice and valour, were always ready to support weak nations against the oppression of kings, whose power gave them umbrage. It was therefore he thought it necessary to make an alliance with that people, in order to support himself by their protection against the unjust enterprises of the Syrians. Those ambassadors were very well received by the senate, who passed a decree, by which the Jews were declared the friends and allies of the Romans, and a defensive league was made with them. They even obtained a letter from the senate to Demetrius, by which he was enjoined not to distress the Jews any more, and war was threatened him, in case he persevered to do so. But before the ambassadors returned, Judas was dead.

As soon as Demetrius received news of the defeat and death of Nicanor, he gave the command of a powerful army

to Bacchis and Alcimus, composed of the choicest of all his troops, and sent them into Judæa. Judas had only three thousand men with him when it arrived there. These were struck with such a panic, that they all abandoned him, except eight hundred men. Judas, with that small number, through an excess of valour and confidence, had the boldness to hazard a battle with so numerous an army, in which he perished, overpowered by multitude. His loss was deplored throughout all Judæa and at Jerusalem, with all the marks of the most lively affliction, and the government put into the hands of Jonathan his brother.

Alcimus being dead, after having committed great violences against the true Israelites, and Bacchis being returned to Antioch, the country remained quiet, and was not harassed by the Syrians for two years. Demetrius had undoubtedly received the senate's letter in favour of the Jews, which obliged him to recall Bacchis.

Demetrius, [p] indeed, was at this time very cautious in his conduct with regard to the Romans, and used all his endeavours to induce them to acknowledge him king, and to renew the treaty made with the kings his predecessors. Having received advice, that the Romans had three ambassadors at the court of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he sent Menochares, one of his principal ministers, thither, to enter upon the negociation. Finding, at his return, by the report he made of what had passed, that the good offices of those ambassadors were absolutely necessary to his success in it, he sent again into Pamphylia, and afterwards to Rhodes, to assure them, that he would conform entirely to their will; and by the force of pressing solicitations, obtained at length by their means what he desired. The Romans acknowledged him king of Syria, and renewed the treaties made with that crown.

To cultivate their amity [q], he sent the same Menochares the following year, in conjunction with some others, upon an embassy to Rome. They were charged with a crown that weighed ten thousand pieces of gold *, as a present from him to the senate, in gratitude for their good treatment of him, during his being an hostage at Rome. They carried also with

[p] A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 160. Polyb. Legat. cxx.

[q] A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. Polyb. Legat. cxxii. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Diod. Legat. xxv.

* They were worth more than ten thousand pistoles.

them Leptinus and Isocrates, in order to deliver them up, upon the account of the assassination of Octavius. This Leptinus was the person who killed him at Laodicea. Isocrates was a Greek, by profession a grammarian, who being in Syria at that time, had, upon all occasions, taken upon him to vindicate that equally base and unjust action. The senate received the ambassadors with all the usual honours, and accepted the present they brought; but would neither hear nor see two vile men, objects unworthy of their anger; reserving to themselves, without doubt, the right of exacting, when they pleased, a more distinguished satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador.

It was about this time that Demetrius, as I have observed before, established Holophernes upon the throne of Cappadocia. He was soon after expelled, and took refuge at Antioch. We are going to see how far he carried his ingratitude in regard to his benefactor.

Demetrius [r], who found himself without war or occupation, began to give into pleasure, and to lead an idle life, not a little singular and fantastic in the manner of it. He caused a castle to be built, near Antioch, flanked with four good towers, and shut himself up in it, for the sake of abandoning himself entirely on the one side to indolence, not being willing to hear any more of affairs, and, on the other, to the pleasure of good cheer and excess of wine. He was drunk at least one half of the day. The memorials, which people were desirous of presenting to him, were never received; justice was not administered; the affairs of the state languished; in a word, there was a general suspension of government, which soon stirred up the whole people against him. A conspiracy was formed for deposing him. Holophernes, who continued at Antioch, entered into this plot against his benefactor, flattering himself with obtaining the crown if the enterprise succeeded. It was discovered, and Holophernes put in prison. Demetrius would not deprive him of life. He chose rather to spare him, in order to make use of him upon occasion against Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, upon whose crown he had some pretensions.

Notwithstanding the discovery, the conspiracy was not suppressed [s]. The malcontents were supported underhand

r A. M. 3850. Ant. J. C. 154. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3. Athen. l. x. p. 440. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 3.

s Polyb. Legat. cxxxvii. et clx. Appian. in Syr. p. 131. Athen. l. v. p. 211. 1 Maccab. x. 1,—50.

by Ptolemy Philometer, who had the affair of Cyprus at heart, and by Attalus and Ariarathes, who meditated revenging themselves for the war Demetrius had undertaken against them in favour of Holophernes. Those three princes concerted together to employ Heraclides in preparing somebody to personate the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to set up hereditary pretensions to the crown of Syria. This Heraclides had been, as I have said already, one of the great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, and treasurer of the province of Babylon; at the same time Timarchus, his brother, another favourite, was governor of it. At Demetrius' coming to the crown, the two brothers having been convicted of malversation and other crimes, Timarchus had been executed, and the other having made his escape, had taken up his residence at Rhodes. It was there he took pains to form the man intended for the design I have mentioned. He chose for that purpose a young man, named Bala, of mean extraction, but very proper to act the part given him. He modelled him, and instructed him fully in all that it was necessary to say or do.

[t] When he was fully prepared, he began by causing him to be acknowledged by the three kings in the secret. He afterwards carried him to Rome, as he did also Laodice, the real daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, for the better concealing of the imposture. By force of address and solicitations, he caused him to be acknowledged there also, and obtained a decree of the senate in his favour, which not only gave him permission to return into Syria, for the recovery of his dominions, but even granted him assistance for that purpose. Though the senate plainly saw through the imposture, and that all which was told of this pretender was mere fiction, they entered into every thing desired of them against Demetrius, with whom they were dissatisfied, and passed that decree in favour of the impostor. With this declaration of the Romans for him, he found no difficulty to raise troops. He then seized upon Ptolemais in Palestine, and there, under the name of Alexander son of Antiochus Epiphanes, assumed the title of King of Syria. Many of the malcontents came thither to join him, and form his court.

This news made Demetrius quit his castle and his indolence, and apply himself to his defence. He assembled all the troops he could. Alexander armed also on his side.

t A. M. 3851. Ant. J. C. 153.

The assistance of Jonathan was of great consequence in this conjuncture, and both parties made their court to him. Demetrius wrote to him first, and sent him the commission of general of the king's troops in Judæa, which rendered him at that time very much superior to all his enemies.

Alexander, seeing what Demetrius had done for Jonathan, was thereby induced to make proposals also to him, in order to bring him over to his side. He made him high-priest, granted him the title of "Friend of the king," sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold, marks of the high dignity conferred upon him; for none at that time wore purple except princes and nobles of the first rank. Demetrius, who received advice of this, still outbid him, to secure to himself an ally of such importance. But after the injuries he had done to all those who had the truest interest of the Jews at heart, and the whole nation in general, they dared not confide in him, and resolved to treat rather with Alexander. Jonathan therefore accepted the high-priesthood from him, and with the consent of the whole people, at the feast of the tabernacles, which happened soon after, he put on the pontifical vestments, and officiated as high-priest.

The place had been vacant seven years from the death of Alcimus. The high-priesthood, which at that time came into the Asmonean family, continued in it till Herod's time, who, from hereditary, as it had been till then, made an employment of it, which he disposed of at pleasure.

[u] The two kings having taken the field, Demetrius, who wanted neither valour nor good sense, when his reason was not impaired by wine, was victorious in the first battle; but it was of no advantage to him. Alexander soon received new troops from the three kings who had set him up, and continued to support him vigorously. Having, besides this, the Romans and Jonathan on his side, he retrieved himself, and maintained his ground. The Syrians continually deserted also, because they could not bear Demetrius. That prince, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, sent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, to Cnidos, a city of Caria, in order to their security in case of misfortune. He confided them, with a considerable sum of money, to the care of a friend of his in that city; in order, if any accident should happen, that they might remain there in safety, and wait some favourable conjuncture.

u A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152.

[x] It was at the same time, and perhaps in imitation of Alexander Bala, that Andriscus played the same part in Macedonia. He had retired to Demetrius, who had given him up to the Romans, from the hope of conciliating their favour.

[y] The two competitors for the crown of Syria, having assembled all their troops, proceeded to a decisive battle. At first Demetrius' left wing broke that of the enemy which opposed it, and put it to flight. But being too hot in the pursuit, a common fault in battles, and which almost always occasions their being lost, at their return they found the right, at the head of which Demetrius fought in person, routed, and the king himself killed in the pursuit. As long as he had been in a condition to support the enemy's charge, he had omitted nothing that valour and conduct were capable of, which might conduce to his success. At length his troops gave way, and in the retreat his horse plunged into a bog, where those who pursued him killed him with their arrows. He had reigned twelve years. Alexander, by this victory, found himself master of the empire of Syria.

As soon as [z] Alexander saw himself at repose, he sent to demand Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, in marriage. She was granted him, and her father conducted her in person to Ptolemais, where the nuptials were celebrated. Jonathan was invited to that feast, and went thither, where he was received by the two kings with all possible marks of honour.

Onias, son of Onias III. having [a] been disappointed of the high-priesthood after the death of his uncle Menelaus, had retired into Egypt. He had found means to insinuate himself so well into the favour of Ptolemy Philometer and Cleopatra his wife, that he was become their favourite and most intimate confidant. He made use of his credit at that court to obtain the king's permission for building a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that in Jerusalem; assuring him that favour would bring the whole nation into his party against Antiochus Epiphanes: at the same time the high-priesthood there was granted to him and his descendants for ever. The great difficulty was to make the Jews come into this innovation; it being forbid by the law to offer sacrifices in any place but the temple of Jerusalem. It was not without difficulty he overcame their repugnance, by a passage in Isaiah, wherein the

x A. M. 3853. Ant. J. C. 151.
z 1 Maccab. x. 51.—56.
y A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150.
a Joseph. contra Appian. l. ii.

prophet foretells this event in these terms [b]: "In that day "shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of "Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts; the one shall be "called the City of Destruction;" M. Rollin says, the City of the Sun, or Heliopolis. "In that day there shall be an "altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt; and a "pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be "for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the "land of Egypt; for they shall cry unto the Lord because "of the oppressors, and he shall find them a saviour and a "great one, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall "be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord "in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation; yea, they "shall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it."

The event here foretold by Isaiah is one of the most singular, and, at the same time, the most remote from all probability. Nothing was more strictly forbidden to the Jews, than to offer sacrifices to God in any other place than the temple built by his order at Jerusalem; how much more, in consequence, to build a temple elsewhere, especially in a land polluted with the most gross idolatry, and always at enmity with the people of God? This, however, came to pass, exactly as the prophet Isaiah had foretold. I shall not enter into a circumstantial exposure of this prophecy, which would carry me too far from my subject.

Alexander Bala [c], finding himself in the peaceable possession of the crown of Syria, thought he had nothing more to do than to take all the pleasures the abundance and power to which he had attained would admit. He abandoned himself therefore to his natural inclination for luxury, idleness, and debauch. He left the care of affairs entirely to a favourite, named Ammonius. That insolent and cruel minister put to death Laodice, the sister of Demetrius, and widow of Perseus, king of Macedonia; Antigonus, Demetrius' son, who continued in Syria when the two others were sent to Cnidos; in fine, all the persons of the blood-royal he could find, in order to secure to his master, by that means, the possession of the crown he had usurped by an imposture. That conduct soon drew upon both the abhorrence of the people.

Demetrius, the eldest of Demetrius' sons, was at Cnidos,

b Isa. xix. 18.—21.

c A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148. Liv. Epit. lib. l. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 2. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Macchab. x. 67.—89. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

and began to be of an age capable of council and action. When he was advised of this aversion of the people, he thought the occasion favourable for repossessing himself of his right. Lasthenes, the friend in whose house he lived, procured him some companies of Cretans, with which he landed in Cilicia. There soon joined him a sufficient number of malcontents to form an army, with which he made himself master of the whole province. Alexander opened his eyes, and quitted his seraglio, to apply himself to his affairs. He left the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus, who is also called Tryphon, put himself at the head of an army formed of all the troops he could assemble; and upon receiving advice that Apollonius, governor of Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, had declared for Demetrius, he sent to demand aid of Ptolemy his father-in-law.

Apollonius' first thoughts were to reduce Jonathan, who persisted in his attachment to Alexander; but his success did not answer his design, and in one day he lost above eight thousand men.

[d] Ptolemy Philometer, to whom Alexander had applied in the extreme danger wherein he found himself, came at last to the assistance of his son-in-law, and entered Palestine with a great army. All the cities opened their gates to him, according to the orders they had received from Alexander to that effect: Jonathan came to join him at Joppa, and followed him to Ptolemais. Upon his arrival, a conspiracy was discovered, formed by Ammonius against the life of Philometer. As Alexander refused to deliver up that traitor, he concluded that he had entered into the conspiracy himself, and, in consequence, took his daughter from him, gave her to Demetrius, and made a treaty with him, by which he engaged to aid him in re-ascending the throne of his father.

The people of Antioch, who mortally hated Ammonius, believed it time to show their resentment. Having discovered him disguised like a woman, they sacrificed him to their rage. Not content with that revenge, they declared against Alexander himself, and opened their gatesto Ptolemy. They would even have set him upon the throne. But that prince, assuring them that he was content with his own dominions, instead of accepting that offer, recommended to them Demetrius, the lawful heir, who accordingly was placed upon the

[b] A. M. 3858. Ant. J. C. 146.

throne of his ancestors, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants.

[e] Alexander, who was at that time in Cilicia, marched with the utmost diligence, and put all to fire and sword around Antioch. The two armies came to a battle. Alexander was beat, and fled with five hundred horse to * Zabdiel, an Arabian prince, with whom he had entrusted his children. Betrayed by the person in whom he had placed most confidence, his head was cut off, and sent to Ptolemy, who expressed great joy at the sight of it. That joy was of no long duration, for he died some few days after, of a wound he had received in the battle. Thus Alexander, king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometer, king of Egypt, died at the same time; the first after a reign of five years, and the second after one of thirty-five. Demetrius, who had attained the crown by this victory, assumed the surname of Nicator, that is to say, the Conqueror. The succession of Egypt was attended with more difficulties.

SECTION IV.

PHYSCON ESPOUSES CLEOPATRA, AND ASCENDS THE THRONE OF EGYPT.

Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, after the death of her husband, who was at the same time her brother, endeavoured to [f] place the crown upon the head of the son she had by him. As he was yet very young, others laboured to obtain it for Physcon, king of Cyrenaica, the late king's brother, and sent to desire him to come to Alexandria. Cleopatra, thereby reduced to the necessity of her defence, caused Onias and Dositheus, with an army of Jews, to come to her assistance. There was at that time a Roman ambassador at Alexandria, named Thermus, who by his mediation accommodated affairs. It was agreed, that Physcon should marry Cleopatra, and educate her son, who should be declared heir to the crown; and that Physcon should possess it during his life. He had no sooner married the queen, and taken possession of the crown, than, even on the very day of the nuptials, he killed her son in her arms.

I have already observed, that the surname of Physcon, given

e A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145.

f A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145. Joseph. contra App. l. ii. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1.

* He is called Emalcuel in the Maccabees.

to this prince, was only a nickname. That which he took to himself was Evergetes, which signifies the Benefactor. The Alexandrians changed it into that of Cacoergetes, that is to say, on the contrary, "one who delights in doing harm;" a surname to which he had the justest title.

In Syria [g] affairs went on little better. Demetrius, a young prince without experience, left every thing to Lasthenes, who had procured him the Cretans, by whose aid he had ascended the throne. He was a corrupt and rash man, and behaved himself so ill, that he soon lost his master the hearts of those who were most necessary to his support.

The first wrong step which he took, was in regard to the soldiers, whom Ptolemy, upon his march, had put into the maritime places of Phœnicia and Syria, to reinforce the garrisons. If he had left those garrisons in them, they would have very much augmented his forces. Instead of gaining them, or at least of treating them well, upon some umbrage which he conceived, he sent orders to the troops in Syria, who were in the same garrisons, to cut the throats of all the Egyptian soldiers; which massacre was accordingly executed. The army of Egypt, which was still in Syria, and had placed him upon the throne, full of just horror for so barbarous a cruelty, abandoned him immediately, and returned home. After which, he caused the strictest search to be made for all those who had been concerned against himself or his father in the last wars, and punished all that could be found with death. When he believed, after all these executions, that he had no longer any enemies to fear, he broke the greatest part of his troops, and kept only his Cretans, and some other foreigners, in his service. By that means he not only deprived himself of the old troops, who had served under his father, and being well affected to him, would have maintained him upon the throne, but he rendered them his greatest enemies, by depriving them of the sole means they had to subsist. He found this fully verified in the insurrections and revolutions which afterwards happened.

Jonathan, however, seeing every thing quiet in Judæa, formed the design of delivering the nation at length from the evils it suffered from the citadel which the Grecian idolaters still held in Jerusalem. He invested it, and caused machines of war to be brought, in order to attack it in form. Deme-

g Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346. 1 Maccab. ix. 20.—37. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8.

trius, on the complaints made to him upon that occasion, went to Ptolemais, and commanded Jonathan to attend him there, to give an account of that affair. Jonathan gave orders for pushing the siege vigorously in his absence, and set out to meet him with some of the priests and principal persons of the nation. He carried with him a great number of magnificent presents, and appeased the king and his ministers so successfully, that he not only caused the accusations, which had been formed against him, to be rejected, but even obtained great honours and new marks of favour. The whole country under his government was discharged from all duties, customs, and tributes, for the sum of * three hundred talents, which he agreed to pay the king by way of equivalent.

The king being returned to Antioch [h], and continuing to give himself up immoderately to all kinds of excess, violence, and cruelty, the people's patience was entirely exhausted, and the whole nation disposed for a general revolt.

Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon, who had formerly served Alexander, and had shared the government of Antioch with Hierax, seeing the people in this disposition, found the occasion favourable for attempting an hardy enterprise, which was to set the crown upon his own head, by the favour of these disorders. He went into Arabia to Zabdiel, to whom the person and education of Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, had been intrusted. He laid a state of the affairs of Syria before him, informed him of the discontent of the people, and in particular of the soldiery, and strongly represented, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity for setting Antiochus upon the throne of his father. He demanded that the young prince should be put into his hands, in order to his being restored to his rights. His view was, to make use of the pretensions of Antiochus, till he had dethroned Demetrius, and afterwards to rid himself of the young prince, and assume the crown to himself, as he did. Zabdiel, whether he penetrated his real design, or did not entirely approve his scheme, did not give into it at first. Tryphon was obliged to continue a considerable time with him, to solicit and press him. At length, between the force of importunity and presents, he gained Zabdiel's consent, and obtained what he demanded.

h Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. xi. 39.—74. xii. 21.—34. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. Appian in Syr. p. 132. Epit. Liv. l. iii. Strab. l. xvi. p. 752. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 349.

* Three hundred thousand crowns.

[i] Jonathan carried on the siege of the citadel of Jerusalem with vigour, but seeing that he made no progress, he sent deputies to Demetrius, to desire that he would withdraw the garrison, which he could not drive out by force. Demetrius, who found himself involved in great difficulties, from the frequent tumults which happened at Antioch, where the people conceived an invincible aversion for his person and government, granted Jonathan all he demanded, upon condition that he would send troops to chastise the mutineers. Jonathan sent him three thousand men immediately. As soon as the king had them, believing himself sufficiently strong to undertake every thing, he resolved to disarm the inhabitants of Antioch, and gave orders accordingly that they should all deliver up their arms. Upon this they rose, to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and invested the palace, with a design to kill the king. The Jews immediately flew to disengage him, dispersed the multitude with fire and sword, burned a great part of the city, and killed or destroyed very near an hundred thousand of the inhabitants. The rest, intimidated by so great a misfortune, demanded a peace; which was granted them, and the tumult ceased. The Jews, after having taken this terrible revenge of the wrongs the people of Antioch had done to Judæa and Jerusalem, principally during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned into their country, laden with honour and booty.

Demetrius, always continuing his cruelties, tyranny, and oppressions, put many more persons to death for the last sedition, confiscated the estates of others, and banished a great number. All his subjects conceived such an hatred and animosity against him, that there wanted nothing but an occasion for rising, and making him experience the most dreadful effect of their vengeance.

Notwithstanding the promises he had made to Jonathan, and the great obligations he had to him for the aid which had preserved him, he behaved no better in regard to him than he did to others. Believing he could do without him for the future, he did not observe the treaty he had made with him. Though the sum of three hundred talents had been paid, he did not desist from demanding all the usual imposts, customs, and tributes, with the same rigour as before, and with menaces to Jonathan, of making war upon him if he failed.

i A. M. 3860. Ant. J. C. 144.

Whilst things were in this unsteady condition, Tryphon carried Antiochus, the son of Alexander, into Syria, and caused his pretensions to the crown to be declared by a manifesto. The soldiers who had been broke by Demetrius, and a great number of other malcontents, came in crowds to join the pretender, and proclaimed him king. They marched under his ensigns against Demetrius, beat him, and obliged him to retire to Seleucia. They took all his elephants, made themselves masters of Antioch, placed Antiochus upon the throne of the king of Syria, and gave him the surname of Theos, which signifies the God.

Jonathan, discontented at the ingratitude of Demetrius, accepted the invitation made him by the new king, and engaged in his party. Great favours were heaped upon him, and Simon his brother. A commission was sent them, whereby they were empowered to raise troops for Antiochus throughout all Cœlosyria and Palestine. Of these troops they formed two bodies, with which they acted separately, and obtained several victories over the enemy.

Tryphon [k], seeing all things brought to the desired point for executing the project he had formed of destroying Antiochus, and possessing himself of the crown of Syria, found no other obstacle to his design, than on the part of Jonathan, whose probity he knew too well, even to sound him upon entering into his views. He resolved therefore to rid himself, at whatever price it cost him, of so formidable an enemy, and entered Judæa with an army, in order to take him and put him to death. Jonathan came also to Bethsan at the head of forty thousand men. Tryphon perceived that he should get nothing by force against so powerful an army. He endeavoured therefore to amuse him with fine words, and the warmest assurances of a sincere friendship. He gave him to understand, that he was come thither only to consult him upon their common interests, and put Ptolemais into his hands, which he was resolved to make him a present of as a free gift. He deceived him so well by these protestations of friendship, and obliging offers, that he dismissed all his troops, except three thousand men, of which he kept only one thousand about his person. He sent the rest towards Galilee, and followed Tryphon to Ptolemais, relying upon that traitor's oath, that he should be put into possession of it. He had no

k 1 Maccab. xii. 39.—54. xiii. 1.—30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 10, 11. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. Epit. Liv. l. iv.

sooner entered the place, than the gates were shut upon him. Jonathan was immediately seized, and all his followers put to the sword. Troops were also detached directly to follow and surprise the two thousand men, who were upon their march to Galilee. They had already received advice of what had happened to Jonathan and his troops, at the city of Ptolemais; and having exhorted one another to defend themselves well, and to sell their lives as dear as possible, the enemy were afraid to attack them. They were suffered to proceed, and arrived all safe at Jerusalem.

The affliction there for what had befallen Jonathan was extreme. The Jews, however, did not lose courage. They chose Simon by universal consent for their general, and immediately, by his orders, set themselves to work with all possible speed to complete the fortifications begun by Jonathan at Jerusalem. And when advice came that Tryphon approached, Simon marched against him at the head of a fine army.

Tryphon did not dare to give him battle, but had again recourse to the same artifices which had succeeded so well with Jonathan, He sent to tell Simon, that he had only laid Jonathan under an arrest, because he owed the king an hundred talents *; that if he would send him that sum, and Jonathan's two sons as hostages for their father's fidelity, he would cause him to be set at liberty. Though Simon saw clearly that this proposal was no more than a feint, however, that he might not have reason to reproach himself with being the occasion of his brother's death, by refusing to comply with it, he sent him the money, and Jonathan's two children. The traitor, notwithstanding, did not release his prisoner, but returned a second time into Judæa, at the head of a greater army than berore, with design to put all things to fire and sword. Simon kept so close to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he frustrated his designs, and obliged him to retire.

Tryphon [1], on his return into winter-quarters in the country of Galaad, caused Jonathan to be put to death; and believing after that he had nobody to fear, gave orders to kill Antiochus secretly. He then caused it to be given out, that he was dead of the stone, and at the same time declared himself king of Syria in his stead, and took possession of the

1 A. M. 3861. Ant. J. C. 143. Diod. Legat. xxxi.

* An hundred thousand crowns.

crown. When Simon was informed of his brother's death, he sent to fetch his bones, interred them in the sepulchre of his forefathers at Modin, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory,

Tryphon passionately desired to be acknowledged by the Romans. His usurpation was so unsteady without this, that he perceived plainly it was absolutely necessary to his support. He sent them a magnificent embassy, with a golden statue of Victory, of ten thousand pieces of gold in weight. He was cheated by the Romans. They accepted the statue, and caused the name of Antiochus. whom he had assassinated, to be inserted upon the inscription, as if it had come from him.

The ambassadors sent by Simon to Rome [m] were received there much more honourably, and all the treaties made with his predecessors renewed with him.

Demetrius in the mean time amused himself with diversions at Laodicea [n], and abandoned himself to the most infamous debauches, without becoming more wise from adversity, and without so much as seeming to have the least sense of his misfortunes. As Tryphon had given the Jews just reason to oppose him and his party, Simon sent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambassadors to treat with him. They obtained from that prince, a confirmation of the high-priesthood and sovereignty to Simon, exemption from all kinds of tributes and imposts, with a general amnesty for all past acts of hostility; upon condition that the Jews should join him against Tryphon.

Demetrius at length [o] recovered a little from his lethargy, upon the arrival of deputies from the East, who came to invite him thither. The Parthians, having almost over-run the whole East, and subjected all the countries of Asia between the Indus and Euphrates, the inhabitants of those countries, who were descended from the Macedonians, not being able to suffer that usurpation, and the haughty insolence of their new masters, extremely solicited Demetrius, by repeated embassies, to come and put himself at their head; assured him of a general insurrection against the Parthians; and promised to sup-

m 1 Maccab. xiv. 16.—40.

n A. M. 3863. Ant. J. C. 141. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 353. 1 Maccab. xiii. 34.—42. et xiv. 38.—41. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 11.

o Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. l. xxxviii. c. 9. l. xli. c. 5. et 6. 1 Maccab. xiv. 1.—49. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9.—12. Orosius, l. v. c. 4. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 359. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

ply him with a sufficient number of troops to expel those usurpers, and recover all the provinces of the East. Full of these hopes, he at length undertook that expedition, and passed the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in possession of the greatest part of Syria. He conceived, that having once made himself master of the East, with that increase of power, he should be in a better condition to reduce that rebel at his return.

As soon as he appeared in the East, the Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians, declared in his favour, and with their aid he defeated the Parthians in several engagements; but at length, under pretence of treating with him, they got him into an ambuscade, where he was made prisoner, and his whole army cut in pieces. By this blow, the empire of the Parthians took such firm footing, that it supported itself for many ages afterwards, and became the terror of all its neighbours, and even equal to the Romans themselves as to power in the field, and reputation for military exploits.

The king who then reigned over the Parthians, was Mithridates, son of Priapatius, a valiant and wise prince. We have seen in what manner Arsaces founded, and his son Arsaces II. established and fixed, this empire by a treaty of peace with Antiochus the Great. Priapatius was the son of the second Arsaces, and succeeded him; he was called also Arsaces, which became the common name of all the princes of this race. After having reigned fifteen years, he left the crown at his death to his eldest son Phraates, and he to Mithridates his brother, in preference * to his own children, because he had discovered more merit and capacity in him for the government of the people; convinced that a king, when it is in his own power, ought to be more attentive to the good of the state, than the advancement of his own family; and to forget in some measure that he is a father, to remember solely that he is a king. This Mithridates was that king of the Parthians, into whose hands Demetrius had fallen.

That prince, after having subdued the Medes, Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians, extended his conquests even into India, beyond the bounds of Alexander's; and when he had defeated Demetrius, subjected also Babylonia and Mesopotamia, so that his empire was bounded at that time by the Euphrates on the West, and the Ganges on the East.

He carried Demetrius his prisoner into all the provinces that

* Non multo post decessit multis filiis relictis; quibus præteritis, fratri potissimum Mithridati, insignis virtutis viro, reliquit imperium; plus regio quam patrio deberi nomini, ratus, potiusque patria quam liberis consulendum.—Justin.

still adhered to the king of Syria, with the view of inducing them to submit to him, by showing them the person they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to so low and shameful a condition. After that he treated him as a king, sent him into Hyrcania, which was assigned him for his place of residence, and gave him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage. However, he was always regarded as a prisoner of war, though in other respects he had all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. His son Phraates, who succeeded him, treated him in the same manner.

It is observed particularly of this Mithridates, that having subjected several different nations, he took from each of them whatever was best in their laws and customs, and out of them composed an excellent body of laws and maxims of state, for the government of his empire. This was making a glorious use of his victories; by so much the more laudable, as it is uncommon and almost unheard of, for a victor to be more intent upon improving upon the wise customs of the nations, than upon enriching himself out of their spoils. It was by this means that Mithridates established the empire of the Parthians upon solid foundations, gave it a firm consistency, effectually attached the conquered provinces to it, and united them into one monarchy, which subsisted many ages without change or revolution, notwithstanding the diversity of nations of which it was composed. He may be looked upon as the Numa of the Parthians, who taught that warlike nation to temper a savage valour with discipline, and to blend the wise authority of laws with the blind force of arms.

At this time happened a considerable change in the affairs of the Jewish nation. They had contended long with incredible efforts against the kings of Syria, not only for the defence of their liberty, but the preservation of their religion. They thought it incumbent on them to take the favourable advantage of the king of Syria's captivity, and of the civil wars with which that empire was continually torn, to secure the one and the other. In a general assembly of the priests, the elders, and the whole people at Jerusalem, Simon was chosen general, to whose family they owed most essential obligations, and gave him the government with the title of Sovereign, as well as that of high-priest: they declared this double power, civil and sacerdotal, hereditary in his family. These two titles had been conferred on him by Demetrius, but limited to his person. After his death, both dignities descended jointly to his posterity, and continued united for many generations.

[q] When queen Cleopatra saw her husband taken and kept prisoner by the Parthians, she shut herself up with her children in Seleucia, where many of Tryphon's soldiers came over to her party. That man, who was naturally brutal and cruel, had industriously concealed those defeats under appearances of lenity and goodness, as long as he believed it necessary to please the people for the success of his ambitious designs. When he saw himself in possession of the crown, he quitted an assumed character, that laid him under so much constraint, and gave himself up entirely to his bad inclinations. Many therefore abandoned him, and came over in no inconsiderable numbers to Cleopatra. These desertions did not however sufficiently augment her party, to put her in a condition to support herself. She was also afraid, lest the people of Seleucia should chuse rather to give her up to Tryphon, than to support a siege out of affection for her person. She therefore sent proposals to Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius' brother, for uniting their forces, and proposed on that condition to marry him, and procure him the crown. For when she was informed that Demetrius had married Rhodoguna, she was so much enraged, that she observed no measures any farther, and resolved to seek her support in a new marriage. Her children were yet too young to support the weight of a precarious crown, and she was not of a character to pay much regard to their right. As Antiochus, therefore, was the next heir to the crown after them, she fixed upon him, and took him for her husband.

This Antiochus was the second son of Demetrius Soter, and had been sent to Cnidos with his brother Demetrius, during the war between their father and Alexander Bala, to secure them against the revolutions he apprehended, and which actually happened, as has been said before. Having accepted Cleopatra's offers, he assumed the title of king of Syria.

He wrote a letter to Simon [q], wherein he complained of Tryphon's unjust usurpation, on whom he promised a speedy vengeance. To engage him in his interests, he made him great concessions, and gave him hopes of much greater, when he should ascend the throne.

[r] Accordingly, the beginning of the following year, he made a descent into Syria with an army of foreign troops, which he had taken into his pay at Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands;

p A. M. 3864. Ant. J. C. 140.
q 1 Maccab. xv. 1.—41. xvi. 1.—10: Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12. et 13.
r A. M. 3865. Ant. J. C. 139.

and after having espoused Cleopatra, and joined what troops she had with his own, he took the field, and marched against Tryphon. The greatest part of that usurper's troops, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and came over to the army of Antiochus, which amounted at that time to an hundred and twenty thousand foot and eight thousand horse.

Tryphon could not make head against him, and he retired to Dora, a city in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais in Phœnicia. Antiochus besieged him there, by sea and land, with all his forces. The place could not hold out long against so powerful an army. Tryphon escaped by sea towards Orthosia, another maritime city of Phœnicia, and from thence proceeding to Apamea, where he was born, he was there taken and put to death. Antiochus thus terminated the usurpation, and ascended his father's throne, which he possessed nine years. His passion for hunting occasioned his being called Sidetes, or the hunter, from the word Zidah, which has the same signification in the Syriac language.

Simon, established in the government of Judæa, by the general consent of the nation, thought it necessary to send ambassadors to Rome, in order to his being acknowledged under that title, and to renew the ancient treaties. They were very well received, and obtained all they desired. The senate, in consequence, caused the consul Piso to write to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, * Demetrius king of Syria, Mithridates king of the Parthians, and to all the states of Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands with whom the Romans were in alliance, to notify to them, that the Jews were their friends and allies, and in consequence, that they should not undertake any thing to their prejudice.

As Antiochus had only granted Simon so advantageous an alliance from the necessity of his present circumstances, and contrary to the interests of the state, as well as to the policy of his predecessors, the letter from the Romans did not prevent him from declaring against Simon, notwithstanding all the magnificent promises he had made him, and from sending troops into Judæa under the command of Cendebæus, who was overthrown in a battle by Judas and John, the sons of Simon.

* This letter was addressed to Demetrius, though prisoner among the Parthians, because the Romans had neither acknowledged Antiochus, Sidetes, nor Tryphon.

Physcon had reigned seven years in Egypt [s]. History relates nothing of him, during all that time, but monstrous vices and detestable cruelties. Never was there a prince so abandoned to debauch, and at the same time so cruel and bloody. All the rest of his conduct was as contemptible as his vices were enormous; for he both said and acted in public the extravagancies of an infant, by which he drew upon himself both the contempt and abhorrence of his subjects. Without Hierax, his first minister, he had infallibly been dethroned. This Hierax was a native of Antioch, and was the same to whom, in the reign of Alexander Bala, the government of that city had been given, in conjunction with Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon. After the revolution which happened in Syria, he retired into Egypt, entered into the service of Ptolemy Physcon, and soon became his captain-general, and prime minister. As he was valiant in the field, and able in council, by causing the troops to be well paid, and amending the faults which his master committed, by a wise and equitable government, and by preventing or redressing them as much as possible, he had been till then so fortunate as to support the tranquillity of the state.

[t] But in the following years, whether Hierax was dead, or the prudence and ability of that first minister were no longer capable of restraining the folly of this prince, the affairs of Egypt went on worse than ever. Physcon, without any reason, caused the greatest part of those to be put to death, who had expressed the most zeal in procuring him the crown after his brother's death, and maintaining it upon his head. Athenæus places Hierax in this number, but without mentioning the time. He also put to death, or at least banished, most of those who had been in favour with Philometer his brother, or had only held employments during his reign; and by permitting his foreign troops to plunder and murder at discretion, he terrified Alexandria so much, that the greatest part of the inhabitants, to avoid his cruelty, thought it necessary to retire into foreign countries, and the city remained almost a desert. To supply their places, when he perceived that nothing remained but empty houses, he caused proclamation to be made in all the neighbouring countries, that whosoever would come and settle there, of whatsoever nation they were, should meet with the greatest encouragements and advantages. There

s A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 361. Athen. l. iv. p. 184. et l. vi. p. 252. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1 et 2.

t A. M. 3868. Ant. J. C. 136.

were considerable numbers whom this proposal suited very well. The houses that had been abandoned were given them, and all the rights, privileges, and immunities granted them, which had been enjoyed by the ancient inhabitants; by this means the city was repeopled.

As amongst those who had quitted Alexandria, there was a great number of grammarians, philosophers, geometricians, physicians, musicians, and other masters in the liberal sciences; it happened from thence, that the polite arts and sciences began to revive in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands; in a word, in every place to which the illustrious fugitives carried them. The continual wars between the successors of Alexander, had almost extinguished the sciences in all those countries, and they would have been entirely lost in those times of confusion, if they had not found protection under the Ptolemies at Alexandria. The first of those princes, by founding his Museum for the entertainment of the learned, and erecting his fine library, had drawn about him almost all the learned men of Greece. The second and third following the founder's steps in that respect, Alexandria became the city of the world, where the liberal arts and sciences were most cultivated, whilst they were almost absolutely neglected every where else. Most of the inhabitants of that great city studied or professed some or other of those polite arts, in which they had been instructed in their youth. So that when the cruelty and oppression of the tyrant of whom I speak, obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries, their most general recourse for subsistence, was to make it their business to teach what they knew. They opened schools in those countries for that purpose, and as they were pressed by necessity, they taught at a low price, which very much increased the number of their disciples. By this means the arts and sciences began to revive wherever they were dispersed, that is to say, throughout what we call the whole East, exactly in the same manner as they took new birth in the West, after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks.

Much about the time that strangers came in crowds [u] to repeople Alexandria, P. Scipio Africanus the younger, Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus, arrived there as ambassadors from Rome. It was a maxim with the Romans to send frequent embassies to their allies, in order to take recognizance of their affairs, and to accommodate their differences. It was

u Cic. in Somn. Scip. Athen. l. vi. p. 273. et l. xii. p. 549. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Diod. Legat. xxxii.

with this view, that three of the greatest persons in the state were sent at this time into Egypt. They had orders to go into Egypt, Syria, Asia, and Greece; and to see in what condition the affairs of those countries were; to examine in what manner the treaties made with them were observed; and to remedy whatever they should find amiss. They discharged themselves of this commission with so much equity, justice, and address, and rendered such great services to those to whom they were sent, in restoring order amongst them, and in accommodating their differences, that as soon as they returned to Rome, ambassadors came from all parts where they had passed, to return the senate thanks for having sent persons of such extraordinary merit amongst them, and whose wisdom and goodness they could never sufficiently admire.

The first place they went to, according to their instructions, was Alexandria. The king received them there with great magnificence. As to themselves, they affected state so little, that at their entry, Scipio, who was the greatest personage of Rome, had only one friend with him, who was Panetius the philosopher, and five domestics *. Not his domestics, says an historian, but his victories were considered: he was not esteemed for his gold or his silver, but for his personal virtues and qualities. Though, during their whole residence at Alexandria, the king caused them to be served with whatever was most delicate and exquisite, they never touched any thing but the most simple and common meats; despising all the rest, as serving only to enervate the mind, as well as the body. So great, even at that time, were the moderation and temperance of the Romans; but luxury and pomp assumed their place.

When the ambassadors had fully viewed Alexandria, and regulated the affairs which brought them thither, they went up the Nile to visit Memphis, and the other parts of Egypt. They saw with their own eyes, or were informed upon the places themselves, the infinite number of cities, and the prodigious multitude of inhabitants contained in that kingdom; the strength of its natural situation; the fertility of its soil, and all the other advantages it enjoyed. They found that it wanted nothing to render it powerful and formidable, but a prince of capacity and application; for Physcon, who then

* Cum per socios et exteras gentes iter faceret, non mancipia sed victoriæ numerabantur; nec quantum auri et argenti, sed quantum amplitudinis onus secum ferret, æstimabatur.—Val. Max.

reigned, was nothing less than a king. Nothing was so wretched as the idea he gave them of himself, in all the audiences they had of him. Of his cruelty, luxury, barbarity, and other vices, I have already made mention, and shall be obliged to give further proofs of them in the sequel. The deformity of his * body sufficiently corresponded with that of his mind: nothing was ever worse put together. His stature was of the smallest, and with that he had a belly of so enormous a size, that there was no man could embrace him in his arms. This largeness of his belly occasioned his being called by the nickname of Physcon. Upon this wretched person he wore so transparent a stuff, that all his deformity might be seen through it. He never appeared in public but in a chariot, not being able to carry the load of flesh, which was the fruit of intemperance, unless when he walked with Scipio. So that the latter, turning towards Panetius, told him in his ear, smiling, "The Alexandrians are obliged to us for seeing "their king walk on foot."

We must confess, to the reproach of royalty, that most of the kings, of whom we now speak, dishonoured not only the throne, but even human nature itself, by the most horrid vices. It is surprising to see, in that long list of kings, whose history we have related, how few there are who deserve that name. What comparison is there between those monsters of desolation and cruelty, and Scipio Africanus, one of the three Roman ambassadors, who was as great a prodigy of wisdom and virtue as could be found amongst the Pagans? Justin accordingly says of him, that whilst he visited and considered with curiosity the rarities of Alexandria, he was himself a sight to the whole city. "Dum inspicit urbem, ipse spectaculo Alex- "andrinis fuit."

Attalus, king of Pergamus, died [x] about the times of which we now speak. His nephew, of the same name, called also Philometer, succeeded him. As the latter was very young when his father Eumenes died, he had been under the tui-

[x] A. M. 3867. Ant. J. C. 138. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Plut. in Demetr. p. 897. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 370.

* Quam cruentes civibus, tam ridiculus Romanis fuit. Erat enim et vultu deformis, et statura brevis, et sagina ventris non homini sed belluæ similis. Quam fœditatem nimia subtilitas perlucidæ vestis augebat, prorsus quasi astu inspicienda præberentur, quæ omni studio occultanta pudibundo viro erant.—Justin. l. viii. c. 8.

Athenæus says, προήει ἀηδέποτο ετε ζος ἐι μη δια Σκιπιανα. Which the interpreter translates, Pedibus ille nunquam ex regia prodibat, sed perpetuo Scipione subnixus; instead of, nisi propter Scipionem.

tion of his uncle, to whom the crown was also left by the will of Eumenes. Attalus gave his nephew the best education he could, and at his death bequeathed the throne to him, though he had sons of his own; a proceeding as rare as it was laudable, most princes thinking no less of transferring their crowns to their posterity, than of preserving them to themselves during their lives.

This prince's death was a misfortune to the kingdom of Pergamus. Philometer governed it in the most extravagant and pernicious manner. He was scarce upon the throne, before he stained it with the blood of nearest relations, and the best friends of his house. He caused almost all who had served his father and uncle with extreme fidelity, to have their throats cut, under pretence that some of them had killed his mother Stratonice, who died of a disease in a very advanced age, and others his wife Berenice, who died of an incurable distemper, with which she had been taken very naturally. He put others also to death upon suspicions entirely frivolous; and with them, their wives, children, and whole families. He caused these executions to be committed by foreign troops, whom he had expressly sent for from the most savage and cruel of nations, to make them the instruments of his enormous barbarity.

After having massacred and sacrificed to his fury, in this manner, the most deserving persons of his kingdom, he ceased to show himself abroad. He appeared no more in the city, and eat no longer in public. He put on old clothes, let his beard grow without taking any care of it, and did every thing which persons accused of capital crimes used to do in those days, as if he intended thereby to acknowledge his own late iniquity.

From hence he proceeded to other species of folly. He renounced the cares of state, and retired into his garden, and applied to digging the ground himself, and sowing all sorts of venomous, as well as wholesome herbs: then poisoning the good with the juice of the bad, he sent them in that manner as presents to his friends. He past all the rest of his reign in cruel extravagancies of the like nature, which, happily for his subjects, was of no long duration, for it lasted only five years.

He took it into his head to practise the trade of a founder, and formed the model of a monument of brass to be erected to his mother. Whilst he was at work in casting the metal, on a hot summer's day, he was seized with a fever, which

carried him off in seven days, and delivered his subjects from an abominable tyrant.

[y] He had made a will, by which he appointed the Roman people his heirs. Eudemus of Pergamus carried this will to Rome. The principal article was expressed in these terms, "[z] *Let the Roman people inherit all my fortunes.*" As soon as it was read, Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people, always attentive to conciliate their favour, took hold of the occasion, and ascending the tribunal of harangues, proposed a law to thsi effect, That all the ready money which should arise from the succession to this prince, should be distributed among the poor citizens, who should be sent as colonies into the country bequeathed to the Roman people, in order that they might have wherewithal to support themselves in their new possessions, and to supply them with the tools and other things necessary in agriculture. He added, that as to the cities and lands which were under that prince's government, the senate had no right to pass any decree in regard to them, and that he should leave the disposal of them to the people; which extremely offended the senate. That tribune was killed some small time after.

[a] Aristonicus, however, who reported himself of the blood-royal, was active to take possession of Attalus' dominions. He was indeed the son of Eumenes by a courtezan. He easily engaged the majority of the cities in his party, because they had been long accustomed to the government of kings. Some cities, out of their fear of the Romans, refused at first to acknowledge him, but were compelled to it by force.

[b] As his party grew stronger every day, the Romans sent the consul Crassus Mucianus against him. It was observed of this general, that he was so perfectly master of all the dialects of the Greek tongue, which in a manner formed five different languages, that he pronounced his decrees according to the particular idiom of those who pleaded before him, which made him very agreeable to the states of Asia Minor. All the neighbouring princes in alliance with the Roman people, the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, joined him with their troops.

[c] Notwithstanding such powerful supports, having engaged

y A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 133.

z Plut. in Gracch. Flor. l. ii. c. 20. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. et xxxvii. c. 1. Vel. Paterc. l. ii. c. 4. Strab. l. xiv. p. 646. Oros. l. v. c. 8.—10. Eutrop. l. iv. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2.

a A. M. 3872. Ant. J. C. 132.

b A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131.

c A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130.

in a battle with disadvantage, his army, which he commanded then in quality of proconsul, was defeated, and himself made prisoner. He avoided the shame of being put into the victor's hands, by a voluntary death. His head was carried to Aristonicus, who caused his body to be interred at Smyrna.

The consul Perpenna, who had succeeded Crassus, soon revenged his death. Having made all haste into Asia, he gave Aristonicus battle, entirely routed his army, besieged him soon after in Stratonice, and at length made him prisoner. All Phrygia submitted to the Romans.

[d] He sent Aristonicus to Rome in the fleet, which he loaded with Attalus' treasures. Manius Aquilius, who had lately been elected consul, was hastening to take his place, in order to put an end to this war, and deprive him of the honour of a triumph. He found Aristonicus set out; and some time after, Perpenna, who had begun his journey, died of a disease at Pergamus. Aquilius soon terminated this war, which had continued almost four years. Lydia, Caria, the Hellespont, Phrygia, in a word, all that composed the kingdom of Attalus, was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, under the common name of Asia.

The senate had decreed, that the city of Phocæa, which had declared against the Romans, as well in this last war as in that against Antiochus, should be destroyed. The inhabitants of Marseilles, which was a colony of Phocæa, moved as much with the danger of their founders as if the fate of their own city had been in question, sent deputies to Rome, to implore the clemency of the senate and people in their favour. As just as their indignation was against Phocæa, they could not refuse that favour to the ardent solicitations of a people, whom they had always held in the highest consideration, and who rendered themselves still more worthy of it, by the tender concern and gratitude they expressed for their forefathers and founders.

Phrygia Major was granted to Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, in reward for the aid he had given the Romans in that war. But after his death they dispossessed his son, the great Mithridates, of it, and declared it free.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who died during this war, had left six children. Rome, to reward in the sons the services of the father, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. They found in queen Laodice, not the tenderness of a parent,

[d] A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 162.

but the cruelty of a step-mother. To secure all authority to herself, she poisoned five of her children, and the sixth would have had the same fate, if his relations had not taken him out of the murderous hands of that Mægara, whose crimes the people soon revenged by a violent death.

[e] Manius Aquilius, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph. Aristonicus, after having been shown there for a sight to the people, was carried to prison, where he was strangled. Such were the consequences of king Attalus' will.

Mithridates, in the letter which he wrote afterwards to Arsaces, king of Parthia, accuses the Romans of having forged a false will of Attalus *, in order to deprive Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes, of his father's kingdom, which appertained to him of right: but it is a declared enemy who charges them with this. It is more surprising that Horace, in one of his odes, seems to make the Roman people the same reproach, and to insinuate, that they had attained the succession by fraud:

Neque Attali
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi. Hor. Od. xviii. l. ii.

Nor have I seiz'd, an heir unknown,
The Phrygian's kingdom for my own.

However, there remains no trace in history of any secret intrigue or solicitation to that effect on the side of the Romans.

I thought it proper to relate all the consequences of this will without interruption. I shall now resume the thread of my history.

SECTION V.

SIDETES TAKES JERUSALEM, AND THEN HE MAKES WAR AGAINST THE PARTHIANS. PHYSCON'S CRUELTY AND DEATH.

Simon having been slain by treason [g], with two of his sons, John, another of them, surnamed Hyrcanus, was proclaimed

e A. M. 3878. Ant. J. C. 126.

g A. M. 3869. Ant. J. C. 131. 1 Maccab. xvi. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. Diod. in Eclog. i. p. 901.

* Simulato impio testamento, filium ejus (Eumenis) Aristonicum, quia patrium regnum petiverat, hostium more per triumphum duxere.—Apud Sallust. Fragm.

high-priest and prince of the Jews in his father's stead. Here ends the history of the Maccabees.

Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, made all possible haste to take the advantage which the death of Simon gave him, and advanced at the head of a powerful army to reduce Judæa, and unite it to the empire of Syria. Hyrcanus was obliged to shut himself up in Jerusalem, where he sustained a long siege with incredible valour. Reduced at length to the last extremity for want of provisions, he caused proposals of peace to be made to the king. His condition was not known in the camp. Those who were about the king's person, pressed him to take the advantage of the present occasion for exterminating the Jewish nation. They represented to him, recurring to past ages, that they had been driven out of Egypt as impious wretches, hated by the gods, and abhorred by men; that they were enemies to all the rest of mankind, as they had no communication with any but those of their own sect, and would neither eat, drink, nor have any familiarity with other people; that they did not adore the same gods; that they had laws, customs, and a religion, entirely different from that of all other nations; that therefore they well deserved to be treated by other nations with equal contempt, and to be rendered hatred for hatred; and that all people ought to unite in extirpating them. Diodorus Siculus, as well as Josephus, says, that it was from the pure effect of the generosity and clemency of Antiochus the Jewish nation was not entirely destroyed on this occasion.

He was well pleased to enter into a treaty with Hyrcanus. It was agreed, that the besieged should surrender their arms; that the fortifications of Jerusalem should be demolished; and that a tribute should be paid to the king for Joppa, and for the other cities which the Jews had out of Judæa: the peace was concluded upon these conditions. Antiochus also demanded, that the citadel of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and would have put a garrison in it; but Hyrcanus would not consent to that, upon account of the miseries the nation had suffered from the garrison of the former citadel, and chose rather to pay the king the sum of * five hundred talents, which he demanded as an equivalent. The capitulation was executed, and because it could not be immediately ratified, hostages were given, amongst whom was a brother of Hyrcanus.

* Five hundred thousand crowns.

[h] Scipio Africanus the younger, going to command in Spain during the war with Numantia, Antiochus Sidetes sent him rich and magnificent presents. Some generals would have appropriated them to their own use. Scipio received them in public, sitting upon his tribunal in the view of the whole army, and gave orders that they should be delivered to the quæstor *, to be applied in rewarding the officers and soldiers who should distinguish themselves in the service. By such conduct a generous and noble soul is known.

[i] Demetrius Nicator had been kept many years in captivity by the Parthians in Hyrcania, where he wanted nothing except liberty, without which all else is misery. He had made several attempts to obtain it, and to return into his own kingdom, but always without success. He was twice retaken in the midst of his flight, and punished only with being carried back to the place of his confinement, where he was guarded with more care, but always treated with the same magnificence. This was not the effect of mere goodness and clemency in the Parthians; interest had some share in it. They had views of making themselves masters of the kingdom of Syria, however remote they were, and waited a favourable opportunity, when, under colour of going to re-establish Demetrius upon the throne, they might take possession of it for themselves.

Antiochus Sidetes, whether apprised of this design or no, thought proper to prevent it, and marched against Phraates at the head of a formidable army. The Parthians' late usurpation of the richest and finest provinces of the East, which his ancestors had always possessed from the time of Alexander, was a strong inducement to him for uniting all his forces for their expulsion. His army was upwards of eighty thousand men, well armed and disciplined. But the train of luxury had added to it so great a multitude of sutlers, cooks, pastry-cooks, confectioners, actors, musicians, and infamous women, that they were almost four times as many as the soldiers, and might amount to about three hundred thousand. There may be some exaggeration in this account, but if two-thirds were deducted, there would still remain a numerous train of useless mouths. The luxury of the camp was in proportion to the

h A. M. 3870. Ant. J. C. 134. Epit. Liv. l. lvii.

i A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9, et 10. l. xxxix. c. 1. Oros. l. v. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. ix. c. 1. Athen. l. v. p. 210. et l. x. p. 439. et l. xii. p. 540. Joseph. Antiq. l. xix. c. 16. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

* The quæstor was the treasurer of the army.

number of those who administered to it. * Gold and silver glittered universally, even upon the legs of the private soldiers. The instruments and utensils of the kitchen were silver, as if they had been marching to a feast, and not to a war.

Antiochus had great success at first. He beat Phraates in three battles, and retook Babylonia and Media. All the provinces in the East, which had formerly appertained to the Syrian empire, threw off the Parthian yoke, and submitted to him, except Parthia itself, where Phraates found himself reduced within the narrow bounds of his ancient kingdom. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, accompanied Antiochus in this expedition, and having had his share in all these victories, returned home laden with glory, at the end of the campaign and the year.

The rest of the army passed the winter in the East. The prodigious number of the troops, including the train before mentioned, obliged them to separate, and remove so far from each other, that they could not easily rejoin and form a body, in case of being attacked. The inhabitants, whom they insulted extremely in their quarters, to be revenged upon them, and to get rid of troublesome guests that nothing could satisfy, conspired with the Parthians to massacre them all in one day in their quarters, without giving them time to assemble; which was accordingly executed. Antiochus, who had kept a body of troops always about his person, marched to assist the quarters nearest him, but was overpowered by numbers, and perished himself. All the rest of the army were either massacred in their quarters the same day, or made prisoners; so that out of so great a multitude, scarce any escaped to carry the sad news of this slaughter into Syria.

It occasioned great grief and consternation there. The death of Antiochus, a prince estimable for many excellent qualities, was particularly lamented. Plutarch [k] relates a saying of his, very much to his honour. One day, having lost himself a-hunting, and being alone, he retired into the cottage of some poor people, who received him in the best manner they could, without knowing him. At supper, having himself turned the conversation upon the person and conduct

k A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 284.

* Argenti aurique tantum, ut etiam gregarii milites caligas auro sigerent procul carentque materiam, cujus amore populi ferro dimicant. Culinarum quoque argentea instrumenta fuere, quasi ad epulas non ad bella pergerent.—Justin.

of the king, they said, that he was in every thing else a good prince, but that his too great passion for hunting made him neglect the affairs of the kingdom, and repose too much confidence in his courtiers, whose actions did not always correspond with the goodness of his intentions. Antiochus made no answer at that time. The next day, upon the arrival of his train at the cottage, he was known. He repeated to his officers what had passed the evening before, and told them by way of reproach, "Since I have taken you into my service, "I have not heard a truth concerning myself till yesterday."

Phraates, thrice beaten by Antiochus, had at last released Demetrius, and sent him back into Syria with a body of troops, in hopes that his return would occasion such troubles as would induce Antiochus to follow him. But after the massacre, he detached a party of horse to retake him. Demetrius, who apprehended a countermand of that nature, had marched with so much diligence, that he had passed the Euphrates, before that party arrived upon the frontier. In this manner he recovered his dominions, and made great rejoicings upon that occasion, whilst all the rest of Syria were in tears, deploring the loss of the army, in which few families had not some relation.

Phraates caused the body of Antiochus to be sought for amongst the dead, and put into a coffin of silver. He sent it into Syria to be honourably interred with his ancestors; and having found one of his daughters amongst the captives, he was struck with her beauty, and married her.

Antiochus being dead [l], Hyrcanus took the advantage of the troubles and divisions which happened throughout the whole empire of Syria, to extend his dominions, by making himself master of many places in Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, which lay commodiously for him. He laboured also at the same time to render himself absolute and independent. He succeeded so well in that endeavour, that from thenceforth neither himself nor any of his descendants depended in the least upon the kings of Syria. They threw off entirely the yoke of subjection, and even that of homage.

Phraates [m], flushed with his great successes, and the victory he had gained, was for carrying the war into Syria, to revenge Antiochus' invasion of his dominions. But, whilst he was making his preparations for that expedition, an unexpected war broke out with the Scythians, who found him employ-

l Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. Strab. l. xvi. p. 761. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1.
m A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 1. et l. xlii. c. 1. et 2.

ment enough at home, to remove all thoughts of disquieting others abroad. Finding himself vigorously pursued by Antiochus, as we have seen, he demanded aid of that people. When they arrived, the affair was terminated, and having no further occasion for them, he would not give them the sums he had engaged to pay them. The Scythians immediately turned their arms against himself, to avenge themselves for the injustice he had done them.

It was a great error in this prince to have disgusted so powerful a nation by a mean and sordid avarice, and he committed a second, no less considerable, in the war itself. To strengthen himself against that nation, he sought aid from a people to whom he had made himself more hateful than to the Scythians themselves; these were the Greek foreign troops, who had been in the pay of Antiochus in the last war against him, and had been made prisoners. Phraates thought proper to incorporate them into his own troops; believing that he should considerably reinforce them by that means. But when they saw themselves with arms in their hands, they were resolved to be revenged for the injuries and ill treatment they had suffered during their captivity; and as soon as the armies engaged, they went over to the enemy, and gave such a turn to the battle, whilst the victory was in suspense, that Phraates was defeated with a great slaughter of his troops. He perished himself in the pursuit, and almost his whole army. The Scythians and Greeks contented themselves with plundering the country, and then retired to their several homes.

When they were gone, Artaban, Phraates' uncle, caused himself to be crowned king of the Parthians. He was killed some days after in a battle with the Thogarians, another Scythian nation. Mithridates was his successor, who for his glorious actions was surnamed the Great.

During all these revolutions [n] in the Syrian and Parthian empires, Ptolemy Physcon did not alter his conduct in Egypt. I have already observed, that on his marriage with his sister Cleopatra, who was his brother's widow, he had killed the son she had by his brother in her arms, on the very day of their nuptials. Afterwards, having taken a disgust for the mother, he fell passionately in love with one of her daughters by Phi-

[n] A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8, 9. l. xxxix. c. 1. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2.---7. Ores. l. v. c. 10. Epit. l. lix. lx. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 374.---376. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

lometer, called also Cleopatra. He began by violating her, and then married her, after turning away her mother.

He soon made himself hated also by the new inhabitants of Alexandria, whom he had drawn thither to repeople it, and supply the place of those his first cruelties had obliged to abandon their country. To put them out of a condition to do him hurt, he resolved to have the throats cut of all the young people in the city, in whom its whole force consisted. For that purpose, he caused them to be invested one day by his foreign troops in the place of exercise, when the assembly there was most numerous, and put them all to the sword. The whole people ran in a fury to set fire to the palace, and to burn him in it; but he had quitted it before they arrived there, and made his escape into Cyprus, with his wife Cleopatra, and his son Memphitis. Upon his arrival there, he was informed, that the people of Alexandria had put the government into the hands of Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated. He immediately raised troops to make war upon the new queen and her adherents.

[o] But first, apprehending that the Alexandrians would make his son king, to whom he had given the government of Cyrenaica, he caused him to come to him, and put him to death as soon as he arrived, only to prevent a pretended danger, which had no foundation but in his falsely alarmed imagination. That barbarity enraged every body the more against him. They pulled down and dashed to pieces all his statues in Alexandria. He believed that Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated, had induced the people to this action, and to be revenged of her, ordered the throat of Memphitis to be cut, a young prince whom he had by her, of great beauty and hopes. He afterwards caused the body to be cut in pieces, and put into a chest, with the head entire, that it might be known, and sent it by one of his guards to Alexandria, with orders to wait till the birth-day of that princess, which approached, and was to be celebrated with great magnificence, and then to present it to her. His orders were obeyed. The chest was delivered to her in the midst of the rejoicings of the feast, which were immediately changed into mourning and lamentations. The horror cannot be expressed, which the view of that sad object excited against the tyrant, whose monstrous barbarity had perpetrated so unnatural and unheard-of a crime. The abominable present was exposed to the view of the pub-

o A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

lic, with whom it had the same effect as with the court, who had first seen that sad spectacle. The people ran to their arms, and nothing was thought of, but how to prevent that monster from ever re-ascending the throne. An army was formed, and the command of it given to Marsyas, whom the queen had appointed general, and all the necessary precautions were taken for the defence of the country.

Ptolemy Physcon, having raised an army on his side, gave the command of it to Hegelochus, and sent him against the Alexandrians. A battle was fought, and gained by Hegelochus; he even took Marsyas prisoner, and sent him laden with chains to Physcon. It was expected that so bloody a tyrant would have put him to death in the most exquisite torments, but the contrary happened. He gave him his pardon, and set him at liberty: For, finding by experience, that his cruelties only drew misfortunes upon him, he began to abate in them, and was for doing himself honour by his lenity. Cleopatra, reduced to great extremities by the loss of her army, which was almost entirely cut to pieces in the pursuit, sent to demand aid of Demetrius, king of Syria, who had married her eldest daughter by Philometer, and promised him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius, without hesitation, accepted that proposal, marched with all his troops, and laid siege to Pelusium.

That prince was no less hated by the Syrians for his haughtiness, tyranny, and excesses, than Physcon by the Egyptians. When they saw him at a distance, and employed in the siege of Pelusium, they took up arms. The people of Antioch began, and after them those of Apamea; many other cities of Syria followed their example, and joined with them. Demetrius was obliged to leave Egypt, in order to reduce his own subjects to obedience. Cleopatra, destitute of the aid she expected from him, embarked with all her treasures, and took refuge with her daughter, Cleopatra, queen of Syria.

This Cleopatra the daughter had been first married to Alexander Bala, and afterwards to Demetrius, in the life-time of her father Philometer. But Demetrius having been taken prisoner by the Parthians, and detained amongst them, she had married Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius' brother. After the death of Sidetes, she returned to Demetrius her first husband, who being set at liberty by the Parthians, had repossessed himself of Syria; she kept her court at Ptolemais, when her mother came to her.

[p] Physcon, as soon as Cleopatra had abandoned Alexandria, returned thither, and re-assumed the government. For after the defeat of Marsyas, and the flight of Cleopatra, there was nobody in condition to oppose him. After having employed some time in strengthening himself, to revenge the invasion of Demetrius, he sent up an impostor against him, called Alexander Zebina. He was the son of a broker of Alexandria. He gave himself out for the son of Alexander Bala, and pretended, in that quality, that the crown of Syria was his right. Physcon lent him an army to put him in possession of it. He was no sooner in Syria, than, without examining the justice of his pretensions, the people came in crowds to join him, out of their hatred to Demetrius. They were in no pain about the person who was to be their king, provided they got rid of him.

At length a battle decided the affair. It was fought near Damascus in Cœlosyria. Demetrius was entirely defeated, and fled to Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra was. She, who had always at heart his marriage with Rhodoguna, amongst the Parthians, took this occasion to be revenged, and caused the gates of the city to be shut against him. Would not one think, that in the age of which we now treat, there was a kind of dispute and emulation between the princes and princesses, who should distinguish themselves most by wickedness and the blackest crimes? Demetrius was obliged to fly to Tyre, where he was killed. After his death, Cleopatra reserved to herself part of the kingdom. Zebina had all the rest; and, to establish himself the better, made a strict alliance with Hyrcanus, who, as an able statesman, took the advantage of these divisions to strengthen himself, and to obtain for his people the confirmation of their liberty, and many other considerable advantages, which rendered the Jews formidable to their enemies.

He had sent the preceding year an [q] embassy to Rome, to renew the treaty made with Simon his father. The senate received those ambassadors very graciously, and granted them all they demanded. And because Antiochus Sidetes had made war against the Jews, contrary to the decree of the Romans, and his alliance with Simon; that he had taken several cities, and made them pay tribute for Gazara, Joppa, and some other places, of which he made cession to them; and had made them consent by force to a disadvantageous

p A. M. 3877. Ant. J. C. 127. q Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

peace, by besieging the city of Jerusalem; upon what the ambassadors represented to the senate on these heads, they condemned all that had been done in such manner against the Jews from the treaty made with Simon, and resolved that Gazara, Joppa, and the rest of the places taken from them by the Syrians, or which had been made tributary, contrary to the tenor of that treaty, should be restored to them, and exempted from all homage, tribute, or other subjection. It was also concluded, that the Syrians should make amends for all losses that the Jews had sustained from them in contravention to the senate's regulations in the treaty concluded with Simon; in fine, that the kings of Syria should renounce their pretended right to march their troops upon the territories of the Jews.

At the time we speak of [r], incredible swarms of grasshoppers laid Africa waste in an unheard-of manner. They eat up all the fruits of the earth, and afterwards, being carried by the wind into the sea, their dead bodies were thrown by the waves upon the shore, where they rotted, and infected the air to such a degree, that they occasioned a pestilence, which carried off in Libya, Cyrenaica, and some other parts of Africa, more than eight hundred thousand souls.

We have said, that Cleopatra [s] had possessed herself of part of the kingdom of Syria at the death of Demetrius Nicator her husband. He left two sons by that princess, the eldest of whom, called Seleucus, conceived hopes of ascending the throne of his father, and accordingly caused himself to be declared king. His ambitious mother was for reigning alone, and was very much offended at her son's intention to establish himself to her prejudice. She had also reason to fear, that he might desire to avenge his father's death, of which it was well known she had been the cause. She killed him with her own hands, by plunging a dagger into his breast. He reigned only one year. It is hardly conceivable, how a woman and a mother could be capable of committing so horrid and excessive a crime; but when some unjust passion takes possession of the heart, it becomes the source of every kind of guilt. As gentle as it appears, it is not far from arming itself with poinards, and from having recourse to poison; because, urgent for the attainment of its ends, it has a natural tendency to destroy every thing which opposes that view.

r A. M. 3879. Ant. J. C. 125. Liv. Epit. l. lx. Oros. l. v. c. 11.

s A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124. Liv. Epit. l. lx. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 1. 2. Appian. in. Syr. p. 132.

Zebina had made himself master of part of the kingdom of Syria. Three of his principal officers revolted against him, and declared for Cleopatra. They took the city of Laodicea, and resolved to defend that place against him. But he found means to reconcile them. They submitted, and he pardoned them with the most uncommon clemency and greatness of soul, and without doing them any hurt. This pretended prince had in reality an exceeding good heart. He received all who approached him in the most affable and engaging manner, so that he acquired the love of all men, and even of those who abhorred the imposture by which he had usurped the crown.

Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, died this year; he was assassinated by his own servants. His son, who succeeded him, was the famous Mithridates Eupator, who disputed so long the empire of Asia with the Romans, and supported a war of almost thirty years duration against them. He was but twelve years of age when his father died. I shall make his history a separate article.

[t] Cleopatra, after having killed her eldest son, believed it for her interest to make a titular king, under whose name she might conceal the authority she intended to retain entirely to herself. She rightly distinguished, that a warlike people, accustomed to be governed by kings, would always regard the throne as vacant whilst filled only by a princess, and that they would not fail to offer it to any prince that would set up for it. She therefore caused her other son, Antiochus, to return from Athens, whither she had sent him for his education, and ordered him to be declared king as soon as he arrived. But that was no more than an empty title. She gave him no share in the affairs of the government; and as that prince was very young, being no more than twenty years of age, he suffered her to govern for some time with patience enough. To distinguish him from other princes of the name of Antiochus, he was generally called by the surname of Grypus *, taken from his great nose. Josephus calls him Philometer; but that prince in his medals took the title of Epiphanes.

[u] Zebina having well established himself, after the death of Demetrius Nicator, in the possession of part of the Syrian empire, Physcon, who looked upon him as his creature, in-

t A. M. 3881. Ant. J. C. 123. u A. M. 3882. Ant. J. C. 122.

* Γρυπὸς, in Greek, signifies a man with an aquiline nose.

sisted upon his doing him homage for it. Zebina refused in direct terms to comply with that demand. Physcon resolved to throw him down as he had set him up, and having accommodated all differences with his niece Cleopatra, he sent a considerable army to the assistance of Grypus, and gave him his daughter Tryphena in marriage. Grypus by the means of this aid, defeated Zebina, and obliged him to retire to Antioch. The latter formed a design of plundering the temple of Jupiter, to defray the expences of the war. Upon its being discovered, the inhabitants rose, and drove him out of the city. He wandered some time about the country from place to place, but was taken at last, and put to death.

[x] After the defeat and death of Zebina, Antiochus Grypus, believing himself of sufficient years, resolved to take the government upon himself. The ambitious Cleopatra, who saw her power diminished, and grandeur eclipsed by that means, could not suffer it. To render herself absolute mistress of the government of Syria again, she resolved to rid herself of Grypus, as she had already done of his brother Seleucus, and to give the crown to another of her sons by Antiochus Sidetes, under whom, being an infant, she was in hopes of possessing the royal authority for many years, and of taking such measures as might establish her during her life. This wicked woman prepared a poisoned draught for that purpose, which she presented to Grypus one day as he returned very hot from some exercise. But that prince, having been apprised of her design, desired her first, by way of respect, to drink the cup herself; and upon her obstinate refusal to do it, having called in some witnesses, he gave her to understand, that the only means she had to clear herself of the suspicion conceived of her, was to drink the liquor she had presented to him. That unhappy woman, who found herself without evasion or resource, swallowed the draught. The poison had its effect immediately, and delivered Syria from a monster, who by her unheard-of crimes had been so long the scourge of the state. She had been the wife of three kings of Syria *, and the mother of four. She had occasioned the death of two of her husbands; and as to her children, she had murdered one with her own hands, and would have destroyed Grypus by the

x A. M. 3884. Ant. J. C. 120.

* The three kings of Syria, who had been her husbands, were Alexander Bala, Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes. Her four sons were Antiochus, by Alexander Bala; Seleucus and Antiochus Grypus, by Demetrius; and Antiochus the Cyzicenian, by Antiochus Sidetes.

poison he made her drink herself. That prince afterwards applied himself with success to the affairs of the public, and reigned several years in peace and tranquillity, till his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum occasioned the troubles we shall relate hereafter.

Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt [y], after having reigned twenty-nine years from the death of his brother Philometer, died at last in Alexandria. No reign was ever more tyrannical, nor abounded more with crimes than his.

SECTION VI.

PTOLEMY LATHYRUS SUCCEEDS PHYSCON. CONTINUATION OF THE WARS IN SYRIA AND EGYPT.

Physcon [z] at his death left three sons. The first, named Aphion, was a natural son, whom he had by a concubine. The two others were legitimate, and the children of his niece Cleopatra, whom he married after having repudiated her mother. The eldest was called Lathyrus, and the other Alexander. He left the kingdom of Cyrenaica by will to Apion, and Egypt to his widow Cleopatra, and to which of his two sons she should think fit to choose. Cleopatra, believing that Alexander would be the most complaisant, resolved to choose him; but the people would not suffer the eldest to lose his right of birth, and obliged the queen to recall him from Cyprus, whither she had caused him to be banished by his father, and to associate him with her on the throne. Before she would suffer him to take possession of the crown, she obliged him to repudiate his eldest sister Cleopatra, whom he passionately loved, and to take Selena, his younger sister, for whom he had no inclination. Dispositions of this kind promise no very pacific reign.

At his coronation he took the title of Soter. Some authors give him that of Philometer; but the generality of historians distinguish him by the name of * Lathyrus. However, as that

y Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scal. Hieron. in Dan. ix.

z A. M. 3887. Ant. J. C. 117. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. 5. Appian. in Mithrid. sub finem, et in Syr. p. 123. Strab. l. xvii. p. 795. Plin. l. ii. c. 67. et l. vi. c. 30. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 385.

* Ἀλθυρος signifies a kind of pea, called in Latin "cicer," from which came the surname of Cicero. Lathyrus must have had some very visible mark of this sort upon his face, or the name had been inconsistent.

is but a kind of nickname, nobody dared to give it him in his own time.

[a] Antiochus Grypus, king of Syria, was making preparations for invading Judæa, when a civil war broke out to employ him, fomented by Antiochus of Cyzicum, his brother by the mother's side. He was the son of Antiochus Sidetes, and born whilst Demetrius was prisoner amongst the Parthians. When Demetrius returned, and repossessed himself of his dominions after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, his mother, out of regard for his safety, had sent him to Cyzicum, a city situated upon the Propontis, in Asia Minor, where he was educated by the care of a faithful eunuch, named Craterus, to whom she had intrusted him. From thence he was called the Cyzicenian. Grypus, to whom he gave umbrage, was for having him poisoned. His design was discovered, and the Cyzicenian was reduced to take up arms in his own defence, and to endeavour to make good his pretensions to the crown of Syria.

[b] Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, finding herself at her own disposal, married the Cyzicenian. She brought him an * army for her dowry, to assist him against his competitor. Their forces, by that means, being very near equal, the two brothers came to a battle, in which the Cyzicenian having the misfortune to be defeated, retired to Antioch. He left his wife for her security in that place, and went himself to raise new troops for the reinforcement of his army.

But Grypus immediately laid siege to the city, and took it. Tryphena, his wife, was very earnest with him to put Cleopatra his prisoner into her hands. Though her sister by father and mother, she was so excessively enraged at her for having married their enemy, and given him an army against them, that she resolved to deprive her of life. Cleopatra had taken refuge in a sanctuary, which was held inviolable; Grypus would not have a complaisance for his wife, which he saw would be attended with fatal effects from the violence of her rage. He alledged to her the sanctity of the asylum where her sister had taken refuge; and represented, that her death would neither be of use to them, nor of prejudice to the

a A. M. 3890. Ant. J. C. 114. b A. M. 3891. Ant. J. C. 113.

* We find in the latter editions of Justin the following words: "Exercitum "Grypi solicitatum, velut dotalem, ad maritum deducit:" which shows that Cleopatra, having succeeded in corrupting part of Grypus' army, carried it to her husband. Several editions read "Cypri" instead of "Grypi," which implies, that Cleopatra had an army in Cyprus.

Cyzicenian: That in all the civil or foreign wars, wherein his ancestors had been engaged, it had never been known, after victory, that any cruelty had been exercised against the women, especially so near relations: That Cleopatra was her sister, and his near* relation: That therefore he desired her to speak no more of her to him, because he could by no means consent to her being treated with any severities. † Tryphena, far from giving into his reasons, became more violent by conceiving jealousy; and imagining that it was not from the motive of compassion, but love, that her husband took the part of that unfortunate princess in such a manner, she therefore sent soldiers into the temple, who could not tear her in anyother manner from the altar, than by cutting off her hands with which she embraced it. Cleopatra expired, uttering a thousand curses against the parricides who were the authors of her death, and imploring the god, in whose sight so barbarous a cruelty was committed, to avenge her upon them.

However, the other Cleopatra, the common mother of the two sisters, did not seem to be affected at all with either the fate of the one, or the crime of the other. Her heart, which was solely susceptible of ambition, was so taken up with the desire of reigning, that she had no other thoughts than of the means of supporting herself in Egypt, and of retaining an absolute authority in her own hands during her life. To strengthen herself the better, she gave the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son, in order to draw from him the assistance she might have occasion for, in case Lathyrus should ever dispute the authority she was determined to keep.

[c] The death of Cleopatra in Syria did not long remain unpunished. The Cyzicenian returned at the head of a new army, to give his brother battle a second time, defeated him, and took Tryphena, upon whom he inflicted the torments her cruelty to her sister had well deserved.

[d] Grypus was obliged to abandon Syria to the victor. He retired to Aspendus in Pamphylia, which occasioned his being sometimes called in history the Aspendian, but returned a year after into Syria, and repossessed himself of it. The two brothers at length divided that empire between them. The Cyzicenian had Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, and took up his residence at Damascus. Grypus had all the rest, and kept his court

c A. M. 3892. Ant. J. C. 112. d A. M. 3893. Ant. J. C. 111.

* Her father Physcon was the uncle of Cleopatra, Grypus' mother.

† Sed quanto Grypus abnuit, tanto furor muliebri pertinacia accenditur, rata non misericordiæ hæc verba, sed amoris esse.—Justin.

at Antioch, but gave alike into luxury, and many other excesses.

Whilst the two brothers [e] were exhausting their forces against one another, or indolently dozing after the peace in luxurious sloth and ease, John Hyrcanus augmented his wealth and power; and seeing that he had nothing to fear from them, he undertook to reduce the city of Samaria. He sent Aristobulus and Antigonus, two of his sons, to form the siege of that place. The Samaritans demanded aid of the Cyzicenian, king of Damascus, who marched thither at the head of an army. The two brothers quitted their lines, and a battle ensued, wherein Antiochus was defeated, and pursued as far as Scythopolis, escaping with great difficulty.

[f] The two brothers, after this victory, returned to the siege, and pressed the city so vigorously, that it was obliged a second time to send to the Cyzicenian, to solicit him to come again to its aid. But he had not troops enough to undertake the raising of the siege; and Lathyrus, king of Egypt, was treated with upon the same head, who granted six thousand men, contrary to the opinion of Cleopatra his mother. As Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, were her favourites, both ministers and generals, the sons of Onias, who built the temple of Egypt, these two ministers, who entirely governed her, influenced her in favour of their nation, and out of regard for them she would not do any thing to the prejudice of the Jews. She was almost resolved to depose Lathyrus for having engaged in this war without her consent, and even against her will.

When the auxiliary troops of Egypt arrived, the Cyzicenian joined them with his. He was afraid to attack the army that formed the siege, and contented himself with flying parties and excursions, to ravage the country by way of diversion, and to reduce the enemy to raise the siege, in order to defend themselves at home. But seeing that the Jewish army did not move, and that his own was much diminished by the defeat of some parties, desertion, and other accidents, he thought it improper to expose his person by continuing in the field with an army so much weakened, and retired to Tripoli. He left the command of his troops to two of his best generals, Callimander and Epicrates. The first was killed in a rash enterprise, in which his whole party perished with him.

e A. M. 3894. Ant. J. C. 110. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. 17.—19.
f A. M. 3895. Ant. J. C. 109.

Epicrates, seeing no hopes of success, had no further thoughts but of serving his private interest in the best manner he could in the present situation of affairs. He treated secretly with Hyrcanus; and for a sum of money put Scythopolis into his hands, with all the other places which the Syrians possessed in the country, without regard to his duty, honour, and reputation; and all for a sum perhaps inconsiderable enough.

Samaria, destitute of all appearance of relief, was obliged, after having sustained a siege for a year, to surrender at last to Hyrcanus, who immediately ordered it to be demolished. The walls of the city, and the houses of the inhabitants, were entirely razed and laid level with the ground; and, to prevent its being rebuilt, he caused large and deep ditches to be cut through the new plain where the city had stood, into which water was turned. It was not re-established till the time of Herod, who gave the new city he caused to be rebuilt there, the name of Sebastos *, in honour of Augustus.

Hyrcanus saw himself at that time master of all Judæa, Galilee, Samaria, and of many places upon the frontiers, and became thereby one of the most considerable princes of his time. None of his neighbours dared to attack him any more, and he passed the rest of his days in perfect tranquillity with regard to foreign affairs.

[g] But towards the close of his life he did not find the same repose at home. The Pharisees, a violent and rebellious sect, gave him abundance of difficulties. By an affected profession of an attachment to the law, and a severity of manners, they had acquired a reputation which gave them great sway amongst the people. Hyrcanus had endeavoured, by all sorts of favours, to engage them in his interests. Besides, having been educated amongst them, and having always professed their sect, he had protected and served them upon all occasions; and to make them more firmly his adherents, not long before he had invited the heads of them to a magnificent entertainment, in which he made a speech to them, highly capable of affecting rational minds. He represented, That it had always been his intention, as they well knew, to be just in his actions towards men, and to do all things in regard to God that might be agreeable to him, according to the doctrine taught by the Pharisees: that he conjured them, therefore, if they saw that he departed in any thing from the great end he

g A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 103.

* Σεβαστος, in Greek signifies Augustus.

proposed to himself in those two rules, that they would give him their instructions, in order to his amending and correcting his errors.—Such a disposition is highly laudable in princes, and in all men; but it ought to be attended with prudence and discernment.

The whole assembly applauded this discourse, and highly praised him for it. One man only, named Eleazar, of a turbulent and seditious spirit, rose up, and spoke to him to this effect: "Since you desire that the truth should be told you "with freedom, if you would prove yourself just, renounce "the high-priesthood, and content yourself with civil govern-"ment." Hyrcanus was surprised, and asked him what reasons he had to give him such counsel. Eleazar replied, that it was known, from the testimony of ancient persons worthy of belief, that his mother was a captive, and that, as the son of a stranger, he was incapable by the law of holding that office. If the fact had been true, Eleazar [h] would have had reason; for the law was express in that point: but it was a false supposition, and a mere calumny; and all who were present extremely blamed him for advancing it, and expressed great indignation upon that account.

This adventure, however, occasioned great troubles. Hyrcanus was highly incensed at so insolent an attempt to defame his mother, and call in question the purity of his birth, and, in consequence, his right to the high-priesthood. Jonathan, his intimate friend, and a zealous Sadducee, took the advantage of this opportunity to incense him against the whole party, and to bring him over to that of the Sadducees.

Two powerful sects in Judæa, but directly opposite to each other in sentiments and interests, entirely divided the state; that of the Pharisees, and that of the Sadducees. The first piqued themselves upon an exact observance of the law; to which they added a great number of traditions, that they pretended to have received from their ancestors, and to which they much more strictly adhered than to the law itself, though often contrary to each other. They acknowledged the immortality of the soul, and in consequence, another life after this. They affected an outside of virtue, regularity, and austerity, which acquired them great consideration with the people. But under that impositious appearance, they concealed the greatest vices: sordid avarice, insupportable pride; an insatiable thirst of honours and distinctions; a violent desire of ruling alone; an envy, that rose almost to fury, against all

h Liv. xxiv. 15.

merit but their own; an irreconcileable hatred for all who presumed to contradict them; a spirit of revenge capable of the most horrid excesses; and, what was still their more distinguishing characteristic, and outdid all the rest, a black hypocrisy, which always wore the mask of religion. The Sadducees rejected the Pharisaical traditions with contempt, denied the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body, and admitted no felicity but that to be enjoyed in this life. The rich people, nobility, and most of those who composed the Sanhedrim, that is to say, the great council of the Jews, in which the affairs of state and of religion were determined, were of the latter sect.

Jonathan, therefore, to bring over Hyrcanus into his party, insinuated to him, that what had passed was not the mere suggestion of Eleazar, but a trick concerted by the whole cabal, of which Eleazar had only been the tool; and that to convince him of the truth, he had only to consult them upon the punishment which the calumniator deserved; that he would find, if he thought fit to make the experiment, by their conduct in favour of the criminal, that they were all of them his accomplices. Hyrcanus followed his advice, and consulted the principal of the Pharisees upon the punishment due to him, who had so grossly defamed the prince and high-priest of his people, expecting that they would undoubtedly condemn him to die. But their answer was, that calumny was not a capital crime; and that all the punishment he deserved, was to be scourged and imprisoned. So much lenity, in so heinous a case, made Hyrcanus believe all that Jonathan had insinuated; and he became the mortal enemy of the whole sect of the Pharisees. He prohibited, by a decree, the observation of the rules founded upon their pretended tradition; inflicted penalties upon such as disobeyed that ordinance; and abandoned their party entirely, to throw himself into that of the Sadducees, their enemies.

[i] Hyrcanus did not long survive this storm: he died the year following, after having been high-priest and prince of the Jews twenty-nine years.

Not to interrupt the history of other kingdoms, I shall reserve the greatest part of what regards the successors of Hyrcanus for the article in which I shall treat the history of the Jews separately.

We have seen that Ptolemy Lathyrus had sent an army into Palestine to aid Samaria, contrary to the advice of his mo-

ther, and notwithstanding her opposition k. She carried her resentment so high upon this attempt, and some others of a like nature, against her authority, that she took his wife Selena from him, by whom he had two sons *, and obliged him to quit Egypt. Her method to do this was, to have some of his favourite eunuchs wounded, and produced in an assembly of the people at Alexandria. She caused it to be reported, that he had used them so barbarously for having endeavoured to defend her against his violence, and inflamed the people so much by this black fiction, which convinced them that he designed to kill her, that they immediately arose universally against Lathyrus, and would have torn him in pieces, if he had not escaped from the port in a ship, which set sail as soon as he got on board. Cleopatra sent soon after for Alexander, her youngest son, to whom she had given the kingdom of Cyprus, and made him king of Egypt in his brother's stead, whom she obliged to content himself with the kingdom of Cyprus, which the other quitted.

Alexander, [l] king of the Jews, after having put the internal affairs of his kingdom in good order, marched against the people of Ptolemais, beat them, and obliged them to shut themselves up within their walls, where he besieged them. They sent to demand aid of Lathyrus, who went thither in person. But the besieged changing their sentiments, from the apprehension of having him for their master, Lathyrus dissembled his resentment for the present. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with Alexander, when he was apprised that the latter was negotiating secretly with Cleopatra, to engage her to join him with all her forces, in order to drive him out of Palestine. Lathyrus became his declared enemy; and resolved to do him all the hurt he could.

The next year he did not fail in that point. He divided his army into two bodies, and detached one of them, under the command of one of his generals, to form the siege of Ptolemais, with which place he had reason to be dissatisfied; and with the other marched in person against Alexander. The inhabitants of Gaza had supplied Lathyrus with a considerable number of troops. A bloody battle was fought between them upon the banks of the Jordan. Alexander lost thirty thousand men, without including the prisoner taken by Lathyrus after the victory.

k Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 4.

l A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. 20, 21.

* These two sons died before him.

A most cruel and horrid action is related of Lathyrus upon this occasion. The same evening he gained this battle, in going to take up his quarters in the neighbouring villages, he found them full of women and children, and caused them all to be put to the sword, and their bodies to be cut in pieces, and put into cauldrons, in order to their being dressed as if he intended to make his army sup upon them. His design was to have it believed, that his troops eat human flesh, to spread the greater terror throughout the country. Could one believe such a barbarity possible, or that any man should ever conceive so wild a thought? Josephus reports this fact upon the authority of Strabo, and another author.

Lathyrus, after the defeat of Alexander, not having any enemy in the field, ravaged and laid waste all the flat country. Without the succours brought by Cleopatra the following year, Alexander had been undone; for, after so considerable a loss, it was impossible for him to retrieve his affairs, and make head against his enemy.

[m] That princess saw plainly, that if Lathyrus made himself master of Judæa and Phœnicia, he would be in a condition to enter Egypt, and to dethrone her; and that it was necessary to put a stop to his progress. For that purpose she raised an army, and gave the command of it to Chelcias and Ananias, the two Jews of whom we have spoken before. She fitted out a fleet at the same time, to transport her troops; and embarking with them herself, landed in Phœnicia [n]. She carried with her a great sum of money, and her richest jewels. For their security, in case of accident, she chose the isle of Cos for their repository, and sent thither at the same time her grandson Alexander, the son of him who reigned jointly with her. When Mithrdates made himself master of that island, and of the treasureslaid up there, he took that young prince into his care, and gave him an education suitable to his birth. Alexander withdrew by stealth from Mithridates some time after, and took refuge with Sylla, who received him well, took him into his protection, carried him to Rome, and at length set him upon the throne of Egypt, as we shall see in the sequel.

The arrival of Cleopatra made Lathyrus immediately raise the siege of Ptolemais, which he had continued till then. He retired into Cœlosyria. She detached Chelcias with part of her army to pursue him, and with the other, commanded by

m A. M. 3901. Ant. J. C. 103.
n Appian. in Mithridat. p. 186. Et de Bel. Civ. l. p. 414.

Ananias, formed the siege of Ptolemais herself. Chelcias, who commanded the first detachment, having been killed in the expedition, his death put a stop to every thing. Lathyrus, to take advantage of the disorder occasioned by that loss, threw himself with all his forces into Egypt, in hopes of finding it without defence in the absence of his mother, who had carried her best troops into Phœnicia [o]. He was mistaken. The troops Cleopatra had left there, made head till the arrival of those she detached to reinforce them from Phœnicia, upon receiving advice of his design. He was reduced to return into Palestine, and took up his winter-quarters in Gaza.

Cleopatra, however, pushed the siege of Ptolemais with so much vigour, that she at last took it. As soon as she entered it, Alexander made her a visit, and brought rich presents with him, to recommend him to her favour. But what conduced most to his success, was her hatred for her son Lathyrus; which was alone sufficient to assure him of a good reception.

Some persons of Cleopatra's court observed to her, that she had now a fair opportunity of making herself mistress of Judæa, and all Alexander's dominions, by seizing his person: they even pressed her to take the advantage of it, which she would have done, had it not been for Ananias. But he represented to her how base and infamous it would be to treat an ally in that manner, engaged with her in the same cause; that it would be acting contrary to honour and faith, which are the foundations of society; that such a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her interests, and would draw upon her the abhorrence of all the Jews dispersed throughout the world. In fine, he so effectually used his reasons and credit, which he employed to the utmost for the preservation of his countryman and relation, that she came into his opinion, and renewed her alliance with Alexander. Of what value to princes is a wise minister, who has courage enough to oppose their unjust undertakings with vigour! Alexander returned to Jerusalem, where he at length set another good army on foot, with which he passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara.

[p] Ptolemy Lathyrus, after having wintered at Gaza, perceiving that his efforts would be ineffectual against Palestine, whilst his mother supported it, abandoned that design, and returned into Cyprus. She, on her side, retired also into Egypt, and the country was delivered from them both.

o A. M. 3902. Ant. J. C. 102. p A. M. 3903. Ant. J. C. 101.

Being [q] informed, upon her return into Alexandria, that Lathyrus had entered into a treaty at Damascus with Antiochus the Cyzicenian, and that with the aid he expected from him, he was preparing to make a new attempt for the recovery of the crown of Egypt; that queen, to make a diversion, gave her daughter Selena, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus, and sent him at the same time a considerable number of troops, and great sums of money, to put him in a condition to attack his brother, the Cyzicenian, with vigour. The affair succeeded as she intended. The war was renewed between the two brothers, and the Cyzicenian had so much employment on his hands at home, that he was in no condition to assist Lathyrus, who was thereby obliged to abandon his design.

Ptolemy Alexander, his younger brother, whom she had placed upon the throne in conjunction with herself, shocked by the barbarous cruelty with which she pursued his brother Lathyrus, especially in depriving him of his wife to give her to his enemy, and observing, besides, that the greatest crimes cost her nothing, when the gratification of her ambition was concerned; that prince did not believe himself safe near her, and chose to abandon the throne, and retire; preferring a quiet life without fear in banishment, to reigning with so wicked and cruel a mother, with whom he was perpetually in danger. It was not without abundant solicitation he was prevailed upon to return; for the people could not resolve that she should reign alone, though they well knew that she gave her son only the name of king; that from the death of Physcon she had always engrossed the royal authority to herself; and that the real cause of Lathyrus' disgrace, which had cost him his crown and wife, was his having presumed to act in one instance without her.

[r] The death of Antiochus Grypus happened this year. He was assassinated by Heracleon, one of his own vassals, after having reigned twenty-seven years. He left five sons; Seleucus the eldest succeeded him; the four others were Antiochus and Philip, twins; Demetrius Euchares, and Antiochus Dionysius. They were all kings in their turns, or at least pretended to the crown.

Ptolemy Apion [s], son of Physcon king of Egypt, to whom his father had given the kingdom of Cyrenaica, dying without

q Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. r A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.
s A. M. 3908. Ant. J. C. 96. Liv. Epit. l. lxx. Plut. in Luc l. p. 492. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 5.

issue, left his kingdom to the Romans by will, who, instead of taking advantage of that legacy, gave the cities their liberty, which soon filled the whole country with tyrants; because the most powerful persons of each of those small states were for making themselves sovereigns of them. Lucullus, in passing that way against Mithridates, remedied those disorders in some measure; but there was no other means of re-establishing peace and good order, than by reducing the country into a province of the Roman empire, as was afterwards done.

Antiochus the Cyzicenian seized Antioch [t], after the death of Grypus, and used his utmost endeavours to dispossess Grypus' children of the rest of the kingdom. But Seleucus, who was in possession of many other good cities, maintained himself against him, and found means to support his right.

Tigranes, son of Tigranes king of Armenia [u], who had been kept an hostage by the Parthians during the life of his father, was released at his death, and set upon the throne, on condition that he should resign certain places to the Parthians. This happened twenty-five years before he espoused the part of Mithridates against the Romans. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of this Tigranes, and of the kingdom of Armenia.

The Cyzicenian [x], who saw that Seleucus strengthened himself every day in Syria, set out from Antioch to give him battle; but being defeated, he was made prisoner, and put to death. Seleucus entered Antioch, and saw himself in possession of the whole empire of Syria; but could not keep it long. Antiochus Eusebes, son of the Cyzicenian, who made his escape from Antioch when Seleucus took it, went to Aradus *, where he caused himself to be crowned king. [y] From thence he marched with a considerable army against Seleucus, obtained a great victory over him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Mopsuestia, a city of Cilicia, and to abandon all the rest to the mercy of the victor. In this retirement he oppressed the inhabitants so much by the imposition of gross subsidies upon them, that at length they mutinied, invested the house where he resided, and set it on fire. Himself, and all who were in it, perished in the flames.

t A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Porphyr. in Græc. Scal.

u A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Strab. l. xi. p. 532.

x A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 25. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Porphyr. in Græc. Scal.

y A. M. 3911. Ant. J. C. 93.

* An island and city of Phœnicia.

[z] Antiochus and Philip, the twin-sons of Grypus, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, marched at the head of all the troops they could raise against Mopsuestia. They took and demolished the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. But on their return, Eusebes charged them near the Orontes, and defeated them. Antiochus was drowned, in endeavouring to swim his horse over that river. Philip made a fine retreat, with a considerable body of men, which soon increased to such a number, as enabled him to keep the field, and dispute the empire with Eusebes.

The latter, to strengthen himself upon the throne, had married Selena, the widow of Grypus. That politic princess, upon her husband's death, had found means to secure part of the empire in her own possession, and had provided herself with good troops. Eusebes married her, therefore, for the augmentation of his forces. Lathyrus, from whom she had been taken, to avenge himself for that injury, sent to Cnidos for Demetrius Euchares, the fourth son of Grypus, who was brought up in that place, and made him king at Damascus. Eusebes and Philip were too much employed against each other, to prevent that blow. For though Eusebes had well retrieved his affairs, and augmented his power by his marriage, Philip, however, still supported himself, and at last so totally defeated Eusebes in a great battle, that he was reduced to abandon his dominions, and take refuge amongst the Parthians, whose king at that time was Mithridates II. surnamed the Great. The empire of Syria by this means became divided between Philip and Demetrius.

Two years after, Eusebes, assisted by the Parthians, returned into Syria, re-possessed himself of part of what he had before, and involved Philip in new difficulties. Another competitor fell also upon his hands, almost at the same time: this was Antiochus Dionysius, his brother, the fifth son of Grypus. He seized the city of Damascus, made himself king of Cœlosyria, and supported himself in it for three years.

Affairs were neither more quiet, nor crime and perfidy more rare in Egypt [a], than in Syria. Cleopatra, not being able to suffer a companion in the supreme authority, nor to admit her son Alexander to share the honour of the throne with her, resolved to rid herself of him, in order to reign alone for the future. That prince, who was apprised of her

z A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

a A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. Pausan. in Attic. p. 15. Athen. lxii. p. 550.

design, prevented her, and put her to death. She was a monster of a woman, who had spared neither mother, sons, nor daughters, and had sacrificed every thing to the ambitious desire of reigning. She was punished in this manner for her crimes, and by a crime equal to her own.

I do not doubt but the reader, as well as myself, is struck with horror at the sight of so dreadful a scene as our history has for some time exhibited. It furnishes us no where with such frequent and sudden revolutions, nor with examples of so many kings dethroned, betrayed, and murdered by their nearest relations, their brothers, sons, mothers, wives, friends, and confidants; who all in cool blood, with premeditated design, reflection, and concerted policy, employ the most odious and most inhuman means to those effects. Never was the anger of Heaven more distinguished, or more dreadful, than upon these princes and people. We see here a sad complication of the blackest and most detestable crimes, perfidy, imposture of heirs, divorces, poisoning, incest. Princes on a sudden become monsters, disputing treachery and wickedness with each other, attaining crowns with rapidity, and disappearing as soon; reigning only to satiate their passions, and to render their people unhappy. Such a situation of a kingdom, wherein all orders of the state are in confusion, all laws despised, justice abolished, all crimes secure of impunity, denotes approaching ruin, and seems to call for it in the loudest manner.

As soon as it was known at Alexandria, that Alexander had caused his mother to be put to death, that horrid crime made the parricide so odious to his subjects, that they could not endure him any longer. They expelled him, and called Lathyrus, whom they replaced upon the throne, in which he supported himself to his death. Alexander having got some ships together, endeavoured to return into Egypt the year following, but without success. He perished soon after in a new expedition which he undertook.

The Syrians [b], weary of the continual wars made in their country by the princes of the house of Seleucus for the sovereignty, and other calamities, in which they were perpetually exposed, resolved at last to exclude them all, and to submit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the many

b A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83. Justin. l. xl. c. 1. et 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24.

evils those divisions occasioned, and restore the tranquillity of their country. Some had thoughts of Mithridates king of Pontus; others of Ptolemy king of Egypt. But the former was actually engaged in a war with the Romans, and the other had always been the enemy of Syria. They therefore determined upon electing Tigranes king of Armenia, and sent ambassadors to acquaint him with their resolution, and the choice they had made of him. He agreed to it, came to Syria, and took possession of the crown, which he wore eighteen years. He governed that kingdom fourteen years together by a viceroy named Megadates, whom he did not recall from that office, till he had occasion for him against the Romans.

Eusebes, being driven out of his dominions by his subjects and Tigranes, took refuge in Cilicia, where he passed the rest of his days in concealment and obscurity. As to Philip, it was not known what became of him. It is probable that he was killed in some action against Tigranes. Selena, the wife of Eusebes, retained Ptolemais, with part of Phœnicia and Cœlosyria, and [c] reigned there many years after, which enabled her to give her two sons an education worthy of their birth. The eldest was called Antiochus Asiaticus, and the youngest Seleucus Cybiosactes. I shall have occasion to speak of them in the sequel.

Some time [d] after Ptolemy Lathyrus had been replaced upon the throne of Egypt, a considerable rebellion broke out in the Upper Egypt. The rebels, being overthrown and defeated in a great battle, shut themselves up in the city of Thebes, where they defended themselves with incredible obstinacy. It was at length taken, after a siege of three years. Lathyrus used it with so much rigour, that from being the greatest and richest city till then in Egypt, it was almost reduced to nothing.

[e] Lathyrus did not long survive the ruin of Thebes. To compute from the death of his father, he had reigned thirty-six years; eleven jointly with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and seven alone in Egypt after his mother's death. Cleopatra, his daughter, succeeded him, who was his only legitimate issue. Her proper name was Berenice; but by the established custom of that house, all the sons were called Ptolemy, and the daughters Cleopatra.

Sylla [f], at that time perpetual dictator at Rome, sent Alex-

c Cic. in Ver. n. 61. Appian. in. Syr. p. 133. Strab. l. xvii. p. 196.
d Pausan. in Attic. p. 15. e A. M. 3923. Ant. J. C. 81.
f Appian. de Bel. Civ. p. 514. Porphyr. in Græc. Scal. p. 60.

ander to take possession of the crown of Egypt, after the death of his uncle Lathyrus, as the nearest heir-male of the defunct. He was the son of that Alexander who had put his mother to death. But the people of Alexandria had already set Cleopatra upon the throne, and she had been six months in possession of it when Alexander arrived. To accommodate the difference, and not to draw Sylla, the master of Rome, and, in consequence, dispenser of law to the universe, upon their hands, it was agreed, that Cleopatra and he should marry, and reign jointly. But Alexander, who either did not approve of her for a wife, or would have no associate in the throne, caused her to be put to death nineteen days after their marriage, and reigned alone fifteen years. Murder and parricide were no longer reckoned as any thing in those times, and might be said to have grown into fashion among princes and princesses.

Some time[g] after, Nicomedes king of Bithynia died, having first made the Roman people his heirs. His country by that means became a province of the Roman empire, as Cyrenaica did also the same year. The Romans, instead of appropriating the latter to themselves, had granted it liberty. Twenty years had passed since, during which time sedition and tyranny had occasioned infinite calamities. It is said, that the Jews, who had been long settled there, and composed a great part of the nation, contributed very much to those disorders. The Romans, to put a stop to them, were obliged to accept Cyrenaica, which had been bequeathed to them by the last king's will, and to reduce it into a Roman province.

SECTION VII.

POMPEY DISPOSSESSES ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS OF THE KINGDOM OF SYRIA. TROUBLES IN JUDÆA AND EGYPT.

Some * troubles which happened in Egypt[h], occasioned by the disgust taken against Alexander, made Selena, the sister

g A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 76. Appian. in. Mithridat. p. 218. De Bell. Civil. l. i. p. 420. Liv. Epit. l. lxxi. et xcii. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.

h A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Cic. Orat. vi. in Ver. n. 61.—67.

* Reges Syriæ, reges Antiochi filios pueros, scitis Romæ nuper fuisse, qui venerant non propter Syria regnum, nam id sine controversia obtinebant, ut a patre et a majoribus acceperant; sed regnum Ægypti ad se et Selenam matrem suam pertinere arbitrabantur. Hi, postquam temporibus populi Romani exclusi, per senatum agere quæ voluerant non potuerant, in Syriam in regnum patrium profecti sunt.

of Lathyrus, conceive thoughts of pretending to the crown. She sent her two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus and Seleucus, whom she had by Antiochus Eusebes, to Rome, to solicit the senate in her behalf. The important affairs which employed Rome, at that time engaged in a war with Mithridates, and perhaps the motives of policy, from which she had always opposed the kings who were for joining the forces of Egypt with those of Syria, prevented the princes from obtaining what they demanded. After a residence of two years at Rome, and ineffectual solicitations, they set out upon their return into their own kingdom.

The eldest *, called Antiochus, resolved to pass by the way of Sicily. He experienced an insult there, which is hardly credible, and shows how much Rome was corrupted in the times we speak of, to what excess the avarice of the magistrates sent into the provinces rose, and what horrid rapine they committed with impunity, and in the sight and with the knowledge of the whole world.

Verres † was at that time prætor in Sicily. As soon as he heard that Antiochus was arrived at Syracuse, as he had reason to believe, and had been told, that that prince had abundance of rare and precious things with him, he judged his arrival a kind of rich inheritance fallen to him. He began by sending Antiochus presents considerable enough, consisting in provisions of wine, oil, and corn. He then invited him to supper. The hall was magnificently adorned; the tables set off with all his vessels of the most excellent workmanship, of which he had a great number. The feast was sumptuous and delicate, for he had taken care that nothing should be wanting to make it so. In a word, the king withdrew, well convinced of the prætor's magnificence, and still better satisfied with the honourable reception he had given him.

* Eorum alter, qui Antiochus vocatur, iter per Siciliam facere voluit.

† Itaque isto (Verre) pretore venit Syracusas. Hic Verres hæreditatem sibi venisse arbitratus est, quod in ejus regnum ac manus veneratis, quem iste et audierat multa secum preclara habere, et suspicabatur. Mittit homini munera satis larga; hæc ad usum domesticum, vine. olei, quod visum erat, etiam tritici quod satis esset. Deinde ipsum regem ad cœnam invitat. Exornat ample magnificeque triclinium. Exponit ea, quibus abundabat, plurima ac pulcherrima vasa argentea.—Omnibus curat rebus instructum et paratum ut sit convivium. Quid multa? Rex ita discessit, ut et istum copiose ornatum, et se honorifice acceptum arbitraretur.

He * invites Verres to supper in his turn; exposes all his riches, multitudes of silver vessels, and not few cups of gold set with jewels, after the custom of kings, and especially those of Syria. There was among the rest a very large vessel for wine made out of one precious stone. Verres takes each of these vessels into his hand one after the other, praises and admires them; the king rejoices that the prætor of the Roman people is so well pleased with his entertainment.

From † thenceforth the latter had no other thoughts than how to rifle Antiochus, and send him away fleeced and plundered of all his rich effects. He sent to desire that he would let him have the finest of the vessels he had seen at his house, under pretence of showing them to his workmen. The prince, who did not know Verres, complied without difficulty or suspicion. The prætor sent again, to desire that he would lend him the vessel made of a single precious stone, that he might consider it more exactly, as he said. The king sent him that also.

But to crown all ‡, the kings of Syria, of whom we speak, had carried a branch sconce with them to Rome, of singular beauty, as well from the precious stones with which it was adorned, as its exquisite workmanship. With this they intended to adorn the Capitol, which had been burned during the wars between Marius and Sylla, and was then rebuilding. But that edifice not being finished, they would not leave it behind them, nor suffer any body to have a sight of it; in order, that when it should appear at a proper time in the temple

* Vocat ad cœnam deinde ipse prætorem. Exponit suas copias omnes; multum argentum, non pauca etiam pocula ex auro, quæ, ut mos est regius, et maxime in Syria, gemmis erant distincta clarissimis. Erat etiam vas vinarium ex una gemma pergrandi.—Iste unumquodque vos in manus sumere, laudare, mirari. Rex gaudere prætori populi Romani satis jucundum et gratum illud esse convivium.

† Postea quam inde discessum est, cogitare est nihil aliud, quod ipsa res declaravit, nisi quemadmodum regem ex provincia spoliatum expilatumque dimitteret. Mittit rogatum vasa ea, quæ pulcherrima apud illum viderat: ait se suis cælatoribus velle ostendere. Rex, qui istum non nosset, sine ulla suspicione libentissime dedit. Mittit etiam trullam gemmeam rogatum; velle se eam diligentius considerare. Ea quoque mittitur.

‡ Nunc reliquum, judices, attendite.—Candelabrum e gemmis clarissimis opere mirabile perfectum, reges hi, quos dico, Romam cum attulissent ut in Capitolio ponerent: quod nondum etiam perfectum templum offenderant, neque ponere, neque vulgo ostendere ac proferre voluerunt; ut, et magnificentius videretur, cum suo tempore in sella Jovis Opt. Max. poneretur, et clarius, cum pulchritudo ejus recens ad oculos hominum atque integra perveniret. Statuerunt id secum in Syriam reportare, ut, cum audissent simulacrum Jovis Opt. Max. dedicatum, legatos mitterent, qui cum cæteris rebus illud quoque eximium atque pulcherrimum donum in Capitolium afferrent.

of Jupiter, the surprise might add to the admiration of it, and the charm of novelty give new splendour to the present. They therefore chose to carry it back into Syria, resolving to send ambassadors to offer this rare and magnificent gift, amongst many others, to the god, when they should know that his statue was set up in the temple.

Verres * was informed of all this by some means or other; for the prince had taken care to have the sconce concealed; not that he feared or suspected any thing, but that few people might see it before exposed to the public view of the Romans. The prætor demanded it of the king, and earnestly begged him to send it him, expressing a great desire to examine it, and promising to let nobody else see it. The young prince, with the candour and simplicity of whose youth the noble sentiments of his mind were united, was far from suspecting any bad design. He ordered his officers to carry the sconce secretly to Verres, well covered from sight; which was done accordingly. As soon as the wrappers were taken off, and the prætor beheld it, he cried out, This is a present worthy of a prince; worthy of a king of Syria; worthy of the Capitol. For it was amazingly splendid, from the quantity of fine jewels with which it was adorned, and the variety of the workmanship, in which art seemed to vie with the materials; and at the same time of so large a size, that it was easy to distinguish, it was not intended to be used in the palaces of men, but to adorn a vast and superb temple. The officers of Antiochus having given the prætor full time to consider it, prepared to carry it back, but were told by him, that he would examine it more at his leisure, and that his curiosity was not yet sufficiently gratified. He then bade them go home, and leave the sconce with him. They accordingly returned without it.

* Pervenit res ad istius aures nescio quomodo. Nam rex id celatum voluerat; non quo quidquam metueret aut suspicaretur, sed ut ne multi illud ante perciperent oculis, quam populus Romanus. Iste perit a rege, et cum plurimis verbis rogat, uti ad se mittat: cupere se dicit inspicere, neque se aliis videndi potestatem esse facturum. Antiochus, qui animo et puerili esset et regio, nihil de istius improbitate suspicatus est. Imperat suis, ut id in prætorium involutum quam occultissime deferrent. Quo posteaquam attulerunt, involucrisque rejectis constituerant, iste clamare cœpit, dignam rem esse regno Syriæ, dignam regio munere, dignam capitolio. Etenim erat eo splendore, qui ex clarissimis et plurimis gemmis, esse debebat; ea varietate operum, ut ars certare videretur cum copia; ea magnitudine, ut intelligi posset, non ad hominum apparatum, sed ad amplissimi templi ornamentum, esse factum. Quod eum satis jam perspexisse videretur, tollere incipiunt ut referrent. Iste ait se velle illud etiam atque etiam considerare: nequaquam se esse satiatum. Jubet illos discedere, et candelabrum relinquere. Sic ille tum inanes ad Antiochum revertuntur.

The * king was not alarmed at first, and had no suspicion: one day, two days, several days passed, and the sconce was not brought home. The prince therefore sent to demand it of the prætor, who put it off till the next day; but it was not returned then. At length he applied in person to him, and prayed him to restore it. Who would believe it? That very sconce, which he knew from the prince himself was to be set up in the Capitol, and designed for the great Jupiter, and the Roman people, Verres earnestly entreated the prince to give him. Antiochus excusing himself, both from the vow he had made to consecrate it to Jupiter, and the judgement which the many nations that had been concerned in the workmanship of it, and knew for whom it was designed, would pass upon such an action; the prætor began to threaten him in the sharpest terms: but when he saw his menaces had no more effect than his entreaties, he ordered the prince to quit his province before night; and alleged for his reason, that he had received advice from good hands, that pirates of Syria were about to land in Sicily.

The † king upon that withdrew to the public place, and, with tears in his eyes, declared with a loud voice, in a numerous assembly of the Syracusans, calling the gods and men to witness, that Verres had taken from him a sconce of gold, enriched with precious stones, which was to have been placed in the Capitol, to be a monument, in that august temple, of his alliance and amity with the Roman people: That he was not concerned, and did not complain, for the other vessels of

* Rex primo nihil metuere, nihil suspicari. Dies unus, alter, plures; non referri. Tum mittit rex ad istum, si sibi videatur, ut reddat. Jubet iste posterius ad se reverti. Mirum illi videri. Mittit iterum: non redditur. Ipse hominem appellat: rogat ut reddat. Os hominis insignemque impudentiam cognoscite. Quod sciret, quodque ex ipso rege audisset, in Capitolio esse ponendum; quod Jovi Opt. Max. quod populo Rom. servari videret, id sibi ut donaret, rogare et vehementer petere cœpit. Cum ille se religione Jovis Capitolini et hominum existimatione impediri diceret, quod multæ nationes testes essent illius operis ac muneris: iste homini minari acerrime cœpit. Ubi videt eum nihilo magis minis quam præcibus permoveri, repente hominem de provincia jubet ante noctem discedere. Ait se comperisse, ex ejus regno piratas in Siciliam esse venturos.

† Rex maximo conventu Syracusis, in foro, flens, deos hominesque contestans, clamare cœpit, candelabrum factum e gemmis, quod in Capitolium missurus esset, quod in templo clarissimo, populo Rom. monumentum suæ societatis amicitiæque esse voluisset, id sibi C. Verrem abstulisse. De cæteris operibus ex auro et gemmis, quæ sua penes illum essent, se non laborare: hoc sibi eripi miserum esse et indignum. Id etsi antea jam, mente et cogitatione suæ fratrisque sui, consecratum esset: tamen tum se in illo conventu civium Romanorum dare, donare, dicare, consecrare, Jovi Opt. Max. testemque ipsum Jovem suæ voluntatis religionis adhibere.

gold and jewels which Verres had got from him; but that to see that sconce taken from him by violence, was a misfortune and an affront that made him inconsolable. That though by his own and the intention of his brother, that sconce was already consecrated to Jupiter, however, he offered, presented, dedicated, and consecrated it again to that god, in the presence of the Roman citizens who heard him, and called Jupiter to witness to the sentiments of his heart, and the piety of his intentions.

[i] Antiochus Asiaticus, being returned into Asia, soon after ascended the throne; he reigned over part of the country for the space of four years. Pompey deprived him of his kingdom during the war against Mithridates, and reduced Syria into a province of the Roman empire.

What thoughts could foreign nations conceive, and how odious ought the name of Roman be to them, when they heard it told, that in a Roman province, a king had been so grossly injured by the prætor himself, a guest plundered, an ally and friend of the Roman people driven away with the highest indignity and violence! And what Cicero reproaches Verres with in this place, was not peculiar to him; it was the crime of almost all the magistrates sent by Rome into provinces; a crime which the senate and people seemed to approve, and of which they made themselves equally guilty, by their weak and abject connivance. "We * have seen for several "years," says the same Cicero, in another of his orations against Verres, "and have suffered in silence, the wealth of "all nations to be transferred into the hands of a few private "persons. Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicum, Miletes, Chio, Sa-"mos, in fine, all Asia, Achaia, Greece, Sicily, are now in-"closed in some of the country-houses of those rich and un-"just men of rapine, whilst money is universally a prodigious "rarity every where else. And we have just reason to be-"lieve, that ourselves connive in all these crying and terrible "disorders, as those who commit, take no manner of pains to "conceal them, nor to hide their thefts and depredations from "the eyes and knowledge of the public."

i A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

* Patimur multos jam annos et silemus, cum videamus ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisse. Quod eo magis ferre æquo animo atque concedere videmur, quia nemo istorum dissimulat, nemo laborat, ut obscura sua cupiditas esse videatur.—Ubi pecunias exterarum nationum esse arbitramini, quibus nunc omnes egent, cum Athenas, Pergamum, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chium, Samam totam, denique Asiam, Achaiam, Greciam, Siciliam, jam in paucis villis, inclusas esse videatis.—Cic. in Ver. ult. de suppl. n. 125, 126.

Such was Rome at that time we now speak of, which soon occasioned its ruin, and the loss of its liberty. And, in my opinion, to consider in this manner the failings and vices that prevail in a state, to examine their causes and effects, to enter thus into men's most secret retirements, to use that expression, to study closely the characters and dispositions of those who govern, is a much more important part of history, than that which only treats of sieges, battles, and conquests; to which, however, we must return.

The reign of Alexander Jannæus in Judæa, had always been involved in troubles and seditions, occasioned by the powerful faction of the Pharisees, that continually opposed him, because he was not of a disposition to suffer himself to be ridden by them. His death [k] did not put an end to those disorders. Alexandria, his wife, was appointed supreme administratrix of the nation, according to the king's last will. She caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be acknowledged high-priest. The Pharisees continually persisted in persecuting those who had been their enemies in the late reign. That princess, at her death, had appointed Hyrcanus her sole heir, but Aristobulus, his younger brother, had the strongest party, and took his place.

Nothing [l] but troubles and violent agitations were to be seen on all sides. In Egypt, the Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms and expelled him, and called in Ptolemy Auletus. He was a bastard of Lathyrus, who never had a legitimate son. He was surnamed Auletus, that is to say, "the player upon the flute," because he valued himself so much upon playing well upon that instrument, that he disputed the prize of it in the public games. Alexander, being driven out in this manner, went to Pompey, who was then in the neighbourhood, to demand aid of him. Pompey would not interfere in his affairs, because they were foreign to his commission. That prince retired to Tyre, to wait there a more favourable conjuncture.

But none offered, and he died there some time after. Before his death he made a will, by which he declared the Roman people his heirs. The succession was important, and included all the dominions Alexander had possessed, and to which he had retained a lawful right, of which the violence

k A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 79. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. c. 23, 24. et De Bell. Judaic. l. 4. A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

l A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. xi. Trogus in Prol. xxxix. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 251.

he had sustained could not deprive him. The affair was taken into consideration by the senate. Some [m] were of opinion, that it was necessary to take possession of Egypt, and of the island of Cyprus, of which the testator had been sovereign, and which he had bequeathed in favour of the Roman people. The majority of the senators did not approve this advice. They had very lately taken possession of Bithynia, which had been left them by the will of Nicomedes, and of Cyrenaica and Libya, which had been also given them by that of Apion; and they had reduced all those countries into Roman provinces. They were afraid, that if they also accepted Egypt and the isle of Cyprus, in virtue of a like donation, that their facility in accumulating provinces to provinces, might give too great umbrage, and express too clearly a design formed to engross in the same manner all other states. They believed besides, that this enterprise might involve them in another war, which would embarrass them very much, whilst they had that with Mithridates upon their hands. So that they contented themselves for the present with causing all the effects, which Alexander had at his death, to be brought from Tyre, and did not meddle with the rest of his estates. This proceeding sufficiently implied, that they did not renounce the will, as the sequel will fully explain.

This is the fourth example of dominions left the Roman people by will; a very singular custom, and almost unheard-of in all other history, which undoubtedly does great honour to those in whose favour it was established. The usual methods of extending the bounds of a state, are war, victory, and conquest. But with what enormous injustice and violence are those methods attended, and how much devastation and blood must it cost to subject a country by force of arms? In this there is nothing cruel and inhuman, and neither tears nor blood are shed. It is a pacific and legitimate increase of power, the simple acceptance of a voluntary gift. Subjection here has nothing of violence to enforce it, and proceeds from the heart.

There is another sort of violence, which has neither the name nor appearance of being so, but it is no less dangerous on that account, I mean seduction: when, to obtain the suffrages of a people, undermining arts, indirect means, secret collusions, and great donations of money, are employed to corrupt the fidelity of the persons of the highest credit and

m Cicer. Orat. ii. in Rullum, n. 41.—43.

authority in states and kingdoms, and events are influenced, in which the principal agents act at a distance, and do not seem to have any share. In this we now speak of, there was no visible trace of a policy so common with princes, and which, far from making any scruple of it, they imagine for their glory.

Attalus, who was the first, if I am not mistaken, that appointed the Roman people his heirs, had not engaged in any strict union with that republic, during the short time he reigned. As for Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica, the Romans, far from using any arts to attain the succession to his dominions, renounced it, left the people in the full enjoyment of their liberty, and would not accept the inheritance afterwards, till they were in some measure obliged to it against their will. It does not appear that they were more solicitous, either in public or private, with Nicomedes king of Bithynia, or Ptolemy Alexander king of Egypt.

What motives, then, induced these princes to act in this manner? First, gratitude: the house of Attalus was indebted for all its splendour to the Romans; Nicomedes had been defended by them against Mithridates: and next, love for their people, the desire of procuring a lasting tranquillity for them, and the idea they had of the wisdom, justice, and moderation of the Roman power. They died without children, or lawful successors; for bastards were not looked upon as such. They had only in view the future divisions and civil wars that might arise about the choice of a king, of which Egypt and Syria supplied them with dreadful examples. They saw with their own eyes, the tranquillity and happiness enjoyed by many cities and nations under the protection of the Roman people.

A prince in the situation of which we speak, had but three things to choose; either to leave his throne to the ambition of the grandees of his kingdom; to restore to his subjects their entire liberty, by instituting republican government; or to give his kingdom to the Romans.

The first choice undoubtedly exposed the kingdom to all the horrors of a civil war, which the factions and jealousies of the great would not fail to excite, and continue with heat and fury; and the prince's love for his subjects induced him to spare them misfortunes as fatal as inevitable.

The execution of the second choice was impracticable. There are many nations, whose genius, manners, characters, and habit of living, do not admit their being formed into re-

publics. They are not capable of that uniform equality, that dependence upon mute laws, that have not weight enough to enforce their obedience. They are made for a monarchy, and every other kind of government is incompatible with the natural frame of their minds. Cyrenaica, which has a share in the present question, is a proof of this; and all ages and climates supply us with examples of the same kind.

A prince, therefore, at his death, could not do more wisely than to leave his subjects the alliance and protection of a people, feared and respected by the whole universe, and therefore capable of defending them from the unjust and violent attempts of their neighbours. How many civil divisions and bloody discords did he spare them by this kind of testamentary disposition? This appears from the example of Cyrenaica. The Romans, out of a noble disinterestedness, having refused the gift the king had made them of it at his death, that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to liberty and its own will, gave itself up to cabals and intrigues. Torn by a thousand factions, furious to madness against each other, and, in a word, become like a ship without a pilot in the midst of the most violent storms, it suffered many years the most incredible calamities; the only remedy of which was to pray, and in some manner to force, the Romans to vouchsafe to take the government of it upon themselves.

Besides this, a prince by such conduct did no more than prevent, and that advantageously for his people, what must necessarily have happened sooner or later. Was there any city or state capable of making head against the Romans? Could it be expected, that a kingdom, especially when the royal family was extinct, could support itself, and its independence, long against them? There was an inevitable necessity for its falling into the hands of that people; and for that reason, it was highly consistent with prudence to soften the yoke by a voluntary subjection. For they made a great difference between the people who submitted to them freely, as to friends and protectors, and those who only yielded to them out of force, after a long and obstinate resistance, and being reduced by reiterated defeats, to give way at last to a conqueror. We have seen with what severity the Macedonians, at least the principal persons of the nation, and after them the Achæans, were treated, especially during the first years of their subjection.

The other nations suffered nothing of that kind, and, generally speaking, of all foreign yokes, none ever was lighter

than that of the Romans. Scarce could its weight be perceived by those who bore it. The subjection of Greece to the Roman empire, even under the emperors themselves, was rather a means to ensure the public tranquillity, than a servitude heavy upon private persons, and prejudicial to society. —Most of the cities were governed by their ancient laws, had always their own magistrates, and wanted very little of enjoying entire liberty. They were by that means secured from all the inconveniences and misfortunes of a war with their neighbours, which had so long and so cruelly distressed the republics of Greece in the time of their ancestors. So that the Greeks seemed to be great gainers in ransoming themselves from these inconveniences, by some diminution of their liberty.

It is true, the provinces sometimes suffered very much from the avarice of governors. But these were only transient evils, which had no long effects, and to which the goodness and justice of a worthy successor applied a speedy redress, and which, after all, were not comparable to the disorders with which the wars of the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians, against each other, were attended, and still less to the violences and ravages occasioned by the insatiable avarice and barbarous cruelty of the tyrants in many cities and states.

An evident proof of the wisdom of the princes, in leaving their dominions to the Romans after their death, is, that their people never exclaimed against that disposition, nor proceeded to any revolt of their own accord, to prevent its taking effect.

I do not pretend to excuse the Romans entirely in this place, nor to justify their conduct in all things. I have sufficiently observed the views of interest, and political motives of their actions. I only say, that the Roman government, especially with regard to those who submitted voluntarily to them, was gentle, humane, equitable, advantageous to the people, and the source of their peace and tranquillity. There were indeed private oppressors, who made the Roman people authorise the most flagrant injustice, of which we shall soon see an example: but there were always a considerable number of citizens, zealous for the public good, who rose up against those violences, and declared loudly for justice. This happened in the affair of Cyprus, which it is now time to relate.

Clodius [n], who commanded a small fleet near Cilicia, was

n A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 58. Strab. l. iv. p. 684.

defeated and taken prisoner by the pirates of that coast, against whom he had been sent. He caused Ptolemy king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, to be desired in his name to send him money to pay his ransom. That prince, who was a kind of prodigy in point of avarice, sent him only two talents. The pirates chose rather to release Clodius without ransom, than to take so small a one.

His thoughts were bent upon being revenged on that king as soon as possible. He had found means to get himself elected tribune of the people; an important office, which gave him great power. Clodius made use of it for the destruction of his enemy. He pretended that prince had no right to the kingdom of Cyprus, which had been left to the Roman people by the will of Alexander, who died at Tyre. It was determined in consequence, that the kingdom of Egypt, and that of Cyprus, which depended on it, appertained to the Romans in virtue of that donation; and Clodius accordingly obtained an order of the people to seize the kingdom of Cyprus, to depose Ptolemy, and to confiscate all his effects. To put so unjust an order in execution, he had credit and address enough to have the justest of the Romans elected, I mean Cato, whom he removed from the republic, under the pretext of an honourable commission, that he might not find him an obstacle to the violent and criminal designs he meditated. Cato was therefore sent into the isle of Cyprus, to deprive a prince of his kingdom, who well deserved that affront, says an historian, for his many irregularities; as if a man's vice sufficiently authorised seizing all his fortunes.

Cato [o], upon his arrival at Rhodes, sent to bid Ptolemy retire peaceably, and promised him, if he complied, to procure him the high-priesthood of the temple of Venus at Paphos, the revenues of which were sufficiently considerable for his honourable subsistence. Ptolemy rejected that proposal. He was not, however, in a condition to defend himself against the power of the Romans; but could not resolve, after having worn a crown so long, to live as a private person. Determined therefore to end his life and reign together, he embarked with all his treasures, and put to sea. His design was to have holes bored in the bottom of his ship, that it might sink with

o Plut. in Cato. p. 776.

* P. Clodius in senatu sub honorificentissimo titulo M. Catonem a rep. relegavit. Quippe legem tulit, ut is—mitteretur in insulam Cyprum, ad spoliandum regno Ptolemæum, omnibus morum vitiis eam contumeliam meritum.—Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 45.

him, and all his riches. But when he came to the execution of his purpose, though he persisted constantly in the resolution of dying himself, he had not the courage to include his innocent and well-beloved treasures in his ruin; and thereby * showed, that he loved them better than he did himself; by the title of king of Cyprus, but in fact the mean slave of his money. He returned to shore, and replaced his gold in his magazines, after which he poisoned himself, and left the whole to his enemies. Cato carried those treasures the following year to Rome. The sum was so large, that in the greatest triumphs the like had scarce been laid up in the public treasury. Plutarch makes it amount to almost seven thousand talents, one million and fifty thousand pounds Sterling. Cato caused all Ptolemy's precious effects and moveables to be sold publicly; reserving only to himself a picture of Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, the sentiments of which sect he followed.

The Roman people here take off the mask, and show themselves not such as they had been in the glorious ages of the republic, full of contempt for riches, and esteem for poverty, but as they were become, after gold and silver had entered Rome in triumph with their victorious generals. Never was any thing more capable of disgracing and reproaching the Romans than this last action. "† The Roman people," says Cicero, "instead of making it their honour, and almost their "duty, as formerly, to re-establish the kings their enemies, "whom they had conquered, upon their thrones, now see a "king, their ally, or at least a constant friend to the republic, "who had never done them any wrong, of whom neither the "senate nor any of our generals had ever the least complaint, "who enjoyed the dominions left him by his ancestors in "tranquillity, plundered on a sudden without any formality,

* Procul dubio hic non possedit divitias, sed a divitiis possessus est; titulo rex insulæ, animo pecuniæ miserabile mancipium.

† Ptolemæus, rex, si nondum socius at non hostis, pacatus, quietus, fretus imperio populi Rom. regno paterno atque avito regali otio perfruebatur. De hoc nihil cogitante, nihil suspicante, est rogatum, ut sedens cum purpura et sceptro et illis insignibus regiis, præconi publico subjiceretur, et imperante populo Rom. qui etiam victis bello regibus regna reddere consuevit, rex amicus, nulla injuria commemorata, nullis repetitis rebus, cum bonis omnibus publicaretur.—Cyprius miser, qui semper socius, semper amicus, fuit; de quo nulla unquam suspicio diurior aut ad senatum, aut ad imperatores nostros allata est: vivus (ut aiunt) est et videns, cum victu et vestitu suo, publicatus. En cur cæteri reges stabilem esse suam fortunam arbitrentur, cum hoc illius funesti anni perdito exemplo videant, per tribunum aliquem se fortunis spoliari (posse) et regno omni nudari.—Cic. Orat. pro Sex. n. 57.

" and all his effects sold by auction almost before his eyes, " by order of the same Roman people. This," continues Cicero, " shews other kings, upon what they are to rely for " their security; from this fatal example they learn, that " amongst us, there needs only the secret intrigue of some " seditious tribune, for depriving them of their thrones, and " of plundering them at the same time of all their fortunes."

What I am most amazed at is, that Cato, the justest and most upright man of those times, (but what was the most shining virtue and justice of the Pagans?), should lend his name and service in so notorious an injustice. Cicero, who had reasons for sparing him, and dared not blame his conduct openly, shows, however, in the same discourse I have now cited, but in an artful and delicate manner, and by way of excusing him, how much he had dishonoured himself by that action.

During Cato's stay at Rhodes, Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, and brother to him of Cyprus, came thither to him. I reserve for the following book the history of that prince, which merits particular attention.

BOOK TWENTIETH.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS,

CONTINUED.

PLAN.

THE twentieth book is divided into three articles, which are all abridgements; the first, of the history of the Jews, from the reign of Aristobulus to that of Herod the Great; the second, of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus; the third, of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, to the annexing of that kingdom to the Roman empire.

ARTICLE I.

ABRIDGEMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS, FROM ARISTOBULUS TO HEROD THE IDUMÆAN.

As the history of the Jews is often intermixed with that of the kings of Syria and Egypt, I have taken care, as occasion offered, to relate of it what was most necessary and suitable to my subject. I shall add here what remains of that history to the reign of Herod the Great. The historian Josephus, who is in every one's hands, will satisfy the curiosity of such as are desirous of being more fully informed in it. Dean Prideaux, whom I have used here, may be also consulted to the same effect.

SECTION I.

REIGN OF ARISTOBULUS I. WHICH LASTED TWO YEARS.

HYRCANUS, high-priest and prince of the Jews [a], had left five sons at his death. The first was Aristobulus, the second Antigonus, the third Alexander Jannæus, the fourth's name is unknown. The fifth was called Absalom.

Aristobulus, as the eldest, succeeded his father in the high-priesthood and temporal sovereignty. As soon as he saw himself well established, he assumed the diadem and title of King, which none of those who had governed Judæa from the Babylonish captivity had done, besides himself. The conjuncture seemed favourable for that design. The kings of Syria and Egypt, who were alone capable of opposing it, were weak princes, involved in domestic troubles and civil wars, little secure upon the throne, and not maintaining themselves long in the possession of it. He knew the Romans were much inclined to authorise the dismembering and dividing the dominions of the Grecian kings, in order to weaken and keep them low in comparison with themselves. Besides, it was natural for Aristobulus to take the advantage of the victories and acquisitions made by his ancestors, who had given an assured and uninterrupted establishment to the Jewish nation, and enabled it to support the dignity of a king amongst its neighbours.

Aristobulus' mother, in virtue of Hyrcanus' will, pretended to the government; but Aristobulus was the strongest, and put her in prison, where he caused her to be starved to death. For his brothers, as he very much loved Antigonus, the eldest of them, he gave him at first a share in the government; but some small time after, upon a false accusation, put him to death. He confined the other three in prison during his life.

When Aristobulus had fully possessed himself of the authority his father had enjoyed, [b] he entered into a war with the Ituræans, and after having subjected the greatest part of them, he obliged them to embrace Judaism, as Hyrcanus had the Idumæans some years before. He gave them the alternative,

a A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19. &c. Id. de Bel. Jud. l. 3.

b A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106. Joseph. Antiq. xiii, 19. Id. de Bel. Jud. l. 3.

either to be circumcised and profess the Jewish religion, or to quit their country, and seek a settlement elsewhere. They chose to stay, and comply with what was required of them, and were incorporated with the Jews, both as to spirituals and temporals. This practice became a fundamental maxim with the Asmonæans. It shows, that they had not a just idea of religion at that time, which does not impose itself by force, and which ought not to be received but voluntarily and by persuasion. Ituræa, inhabited by the people in question, was a part of Cœlosyria, on the north-east frontier of Israel, between the inheritance of the half tribe of Manasseh on the other side of the Jordan, and the territory of Damascus.

A distemper obliged Aristobulus to return from Ituræa to Jerusalem, and to leave the command of the army to his brother Antigonus, to make an end of the war he had begun. The queen and her cabal, who envied Antigonus the king's favour, took the advantage of this illness, to alienate the king against him by false reports and vile calumnies. Antigonus soon returned to Jerusalem after the successes by which he had terminated the war. His entry was a kind of triumph. The feast of the tabernacles was then celebrating. He went directly to the temple with his guards, completely armed as he had entered the city, without giving himself time to change any part of his equipage. This was made a crime with the king; who, otherwise prejudiced against him, sent him orders to disarm himself, and come to him as soon as possible; conceiving, if he refused to obey, it was a proof of some bad design; and in that case he gave orders that he should be killed. The person sent by Aristobulus was gained by the queen and her cabal, and told him the order quite differently; that the king desired to see him completely armed as he was. Antigonus went directly to wait on him; and the guards, who saw him come in his arms, obeyed their orders, and killed him.

Aristobulus, having discovered all that had passed, was violently affected with it, and inconsolable for his death. Tormented with remorse of conscience for this murder, and that of his mother, he led a miserable life, and expired at last in the highest grief and despair.

SECTION II.

REIGN OF ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, WHICH CONTINUED TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS.

SALOME, the wife of Aristobulus [c], immediately after his death, took the three princes out of the prison, into which they had been put by her husband. Alexander Jannæus, the eldest of the three, was crowned. He put his next brother to death, who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. As for the third, named Absalom, who was of a peaceable disposition, and who had no thoughts but of living in tranquillity as a private person [d], he granted him his favour, and protected him during his whole life. No more is said of him, than that he gave his daughter in marriage to the youngest son of his brother Alexander, and that he served him against the Romans at the siege of Jerusalem, in which he was made prisoner forty-two years after, when the temple was taken by Pompey.

Whilst all this passed, the two kings of Syria, of whom Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus of Cyzicum at Damascus, made a cruel war upon each other, although they were brothers. Cleopatra, and Alexander, the youngest of her sons, reigned in Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathyrus, the eldest, in Cyprus.

Alexander Jannæus, some time after he returned to Jerusalem, and had taken possession of the throne, had set a good army on foot, which passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara. At the end of ten months, having made himself master of that city, he took several other very strong places, situated also on the other side of the Jordan. But not being sufficiently upon his guard in his return, he was beat by the enemy, and lost ten thousand men, with all his spoils he had taken, and his own baggage. He returned to Jerusalem in the highest affliction for this loss, and the shame with which it was attended. He had even the mortification to see, that many people, instead of lamenting his misfortune, took a malignant joy in it; for, from the quarrel of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees, they had always been the enemies of his house, and especially of this Alexander. And as they had drawn almost the whole people into their party, they had so strongly prejudiced and inflamed them against him, that all the disorders and com-

c A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 20. Id. de Bel. Jud. 1. 3.
d Id. Antiq. xiv. 8.

motions, with which his whole reign was embroiled, flowed from this source.

[c] This loss, great as it was, did not prevent his going to seize Raphia and Anthedom, when he saw the coast of Gaza without defence, after the departure of Lathyrus. These two posts, that were only a few miles from Gaza, kept in a manner blocked up, which was what he proposed when he attacked them. He had never forgiven the inhabitants of Gaza, for calling in Lathyrus against him, and giving him troops, which had contributed to gaining the fatal battle of Jordan, and he earnestly sought all occasions to avenge himself upon them.

[f] As soon as his affairs would permit, he came with a numerous army to besiege their city. Apollodorus, the governor of it, defended the place a whole year with a valour and prudence that acquired him great reputation. [g] His own brother Lysimachus could not see his glory without envy; and that base passion induced him to assassinate the governor. That wretch afterwards associated with some others as bad as himself, and surrendered the city to Alexander. Upon his entrance, it was thought by his behaviour, and the orders he gave, that he intended to use his victory with clemency and moderation. But as soon as he saw himself master of all the posts, and that there was nothing to oppose him, he gave his soldiers permission to kill, plunder, and destroy; and immediately all the barbarity that could be imagined was exercised upon that unfortunate city. The pleasure of revenge cost him very dear. For the inhabitants of Gaza defended themselves like men in despair, and killed for him almost as many of his people as they were themselves. But at length he satiated his brutal revenge, and reduced that ancient and famous city to an heap of ruins; after which he returned to Jerusalem. This war employed him a year.

Some time after, the people affronted him in the most heinous manner [h]. At the feast of the tabernacles, whilst he was in the temple offering a solemn sacrifice, in quality of high-priest, upon the altar of burnt-offerings, they threw lemons at his head, calling him a thousand injurious names, and amongst the rest giving him that of Slave; a reproach which sufficiently argued that they looked upon him as unworthy of the crown and pontificate. This was an effect of

e A. M. 3904. Ant. J. C. 100.
f A. M. 3906. Ant. J. C. 98.
g A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 21.
h A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95.

what Eleazar had presumed to advance, that the mother of Hyrcanus had been a captive. These indignities enraged Alexander to such a degree, that he attacked those insolent people in person, at the head of his guards, and killed to the number of six thousand of them. Seeing how much the Jews were disaffected in regard to him, he was afraid to trust his person any longer to them, and used foreign troops for his guard, whom he caused to come from Pisidia and Cilicia. Of these he formed a body of six thousand men, that attended him every where.

[i] When Alexander saw the storm which had arisen against him a little appeased by the terror of the revenge he had taken for it, he turned his arms against the enemy abroad. After having obtained some advantages over them, he fell into an ambuscade, wherein he lost the greatest part of his army, and escaped himself with great difficulty. [k] At his return to Jerusalem, the Jews, incensed at his defeat, revolted against him. They flattered themselves, that they should find him so much weakened and dejected by his loss, that they should find no difficulty in completing his destruction, which they had so long desired. Alexander, who wanted neither application nor valour, and who besides had more than a common capacity, soon found troops to oppose them. A civil war ensued between him and his subjects, which continued six years, and occasioned great misfortunes to both parties. The rebels were beaten and defeated upon many occasions.

[l] Alexander, having taken a city where many of them had shut themselves up, carried eight hundred of them to Jerusalem, and caused them all to be crucified in one day; when they were fixed to the cross, he ordered their wives and children to be brought out, and to have their throats cut before their faces. During this cruel execution, the king regaled his wives and concubines in a place from whence they saw all that passed; and this sight was to him and them the principal part of the entertainment. Horrid gratification! This civil war, during the six years that it lasted, had cost the lives of more than fifty thousand men on the side of the rebels.

Alexander, after having put an end to it, undertook many other foreign expeditions with very great success. Upon his return to Jerusalem, he abandoned himself to intemperance and excess of wine, that brought a quartan ague upon him [m],

i A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94.
k A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.
l A. M. 3918. Ant. J. C. 86.
m A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 79.

of which he died at three years end, after having reigned twenty-seven.

He left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; but he decreed by his will, that Alexandra his wife should govern the kingdom during her life, and choose which of her sons she thought fit to succeed her.

SECTION III.

REIGN OF ALEXANDRA, THE WIFE OF ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, WHICH CONTINUED NINE YEARS.

ACCORDING to the advice of her husband [n], Alexandra submitted herself and her children to the power of the Pharisees, declaring to them, that in doing so she only conformed to the last will of her husband.

By this step she gained so much upon them, that, forgetting their hatred for the dead, though they carried it during his life as far as possible, they changed it on a sudden into a respect and veneration for his memory, and instead of the invectives and reproaches they had always abundantly vented against him, nothing was heard but praises and panegyrics, wherein they exalted immoderately the great actions of Alexander, by which the nation had been aggrandized, and its power, honour, and credit, much augmented. By this means they brought over the people so effectually, whom till then they had always irritated against him, that they celebrated his funeral with greater pomp and magnificence than that of any of his predecessors; and Alexandra, according to the intent of his will, was confirmed sovereign administratrix of the nation. We see from hence, that a blind and unlimited conformity to the power and will of the Pharisees, stood with them for every kind of merit, and made all failings, and even crimes, disappear as effectually as if they had never been; which is very common with those who are fond of ruling.

When that princess saw herself well established, she caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be received as high-priest; he was then near thirty years of age. According to her promise, she gave the administration of all important affairs to the Pharisees. The first thing they did was to repeal the decree, by which John Hyrcanus, father of the two last kings, had

n A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 23, 24. et De Bell. Jud. l. 4.

abolished all their traditional constitutions, which were afterwards more generally received than ever. They persecuted with great cruelty all those who had declared themselves their enemies in the preceding reigns, without the queen's being able to prevent them; because she had tied up her own hands, by putting herself into those of the Pharisees. She had seen in her husband's time what a civil war was, and the infinite misfortunes with which it is attended. She was afraid of kindling a new one, and not knowing any other means to prevent it, than to give way to the violence of those revengeful and inexorable men, she believed it necessary to suffer a less, by way of precaution against a greater evil.

What we have said upon this head, may contribute very much to our having a right sense of the state of the Jewish nation, and of the characters of those who governed it.

The Pharisees always continued [o] their persecutions against those who had opposed them under the late king. They made them accountable for all the cruelties and faults with which they thought proper to blacken his memory. They had already got rid of many of their enemies, and invented every day new articles of accusation to destroy those who gave them most umbrage amongst such as still survived.

The friends and partizans of the late king, seeing no end to these persecutions, and that their destruction was sworn, assembled at last, and came in a body to wait on the queen, with Aristobulus, her second son, at their head. They represented to her the services they had done the late king; their fidelity and attachment to him in all his wars, and in all the difficulties with which he had been involved during the troubles. That it was very hard at present, under her government, that every thing they had done for him should be made criminal, and to see themselves sacrificed to the implacable hatred of their enemies, solely for their adherence to herself and her family. They implored her either to put a stop to such sort of inquiries, or, if that was not in her power, to permit them to retire out of the country, in order to their seeking an asylum elsewhere: at least they begged her to put them into garrisoned places, where they might find some security against the violence of their enemies.

The queen was as much affected as it was possible to be with the condition she saw them in, and the injustice done them. But it was out of her power to do for them all she

o A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 24. et de Bell. Jud. l. 4.

desired; for she had given herself masters, by engaging to act in nothing without the consent of the Pharisees. How dangerous is it to invest such people with too much authority! They exclaimed, that it would be putting a stop to the course of justice, to suspend the inquiries after the culpable; that such a proceeding was what no government ought to suffer; and that therefore they would never come into it. On the other side, the queen believed, that she ought not to give her consent, that the real and faithful friends of her family should abandon their country in such a manner; because she would then lie at the mercy of a turbulent faction without any support, and would have no recourse in case of necessity. She resolved therefore upon the third point they had proposed to her, and dispersed them into the places where she had garrisons. She found two advantages in that conduct; the first was, that their enemies dared not to attack them in those fortresses, where they would have their arms in their hands; and the second, that they would always be a body of reserve, upon which she could rely upon occasion, in case of any rupture.

q Some years after, queen Alexandra fell sick of a very dangerous distemper, which brought her to the point of death. As soon as Aristobulus, her youngest son, saw that she could not recover, as he had long formed the design of seizing the crown at her death, he stole out of Jerusalem in the night, with only one domestic, and went to the places in which, according to a plan he had given them, the friends of his father had been placed in garrison. He was received in them with open arms, and in fifteen days time twenty-two of those towns and castles declared for him, which put him in possession of almost all the forces of the state. The people, as well as the army, were entirely inclined to declare for him, weary of the cruel administration of the Pharisees, who had governed without controul under Alexandra, and were become insupportable to all the world. They came therefore in crowds from all sides to follow the standard of Aristobulus; in hopes that he would abolish the tyranny of the Pharisees, which could not be expected from Hyrcanus his brother, who had been brought up by his mother in a blind submission to that sect; besides which, he had neither the courage nor capacity necessary to so vigorous a design; for he was heavy and indolent, void of activity and application, and of a very mean genius.

q A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

When the Pharisees saw that Aristobulus' party augmented considerably, they went, with Hyrcanus at their head, to represent to the dying queen what had passed, and to demand her orders and assistance. She answered, that she was no longer in a condition to intermeddle with such affairs, and that she left the care of them to the Pharisees. However, she appointed Hyrcanus her heir-general, and expired soon after.

As soon as she was dead, he took possession of the throne, and the Pharisees used all their endeavours to support him upon it. When Aristobulus quitted Jerusalem, they caused his wife and children, whom he had left behind him, to be shut up in the castle of * Baris, as hostages against himself. But seeing this did not stop him, they raised an army. Aristobulus did the same. A battle near Jericho decided the quarrel. Hyrcanus, abandoned by most part of his troops, who went over to his brother, was obliged to fly to Jerusalem, and to shut himself up in the castle of Baris: his partizans took refuge in the temple. Some time after, they also submitted to Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus was obliged to come to an accommodation with him.

SECTION IV.

REIGN OF ARISTOBULUS II. WHICH CONTINUED SIX YEARS.

It was agreed by the accommodation, [r] that Aristobulus should have the crown and high-priesthood, and that Hyrcanus should resign both to him, and content himself with a private life, under the protection of his brother, and with the enjoyment of his fortunes. It was not difficult to reconcile him to this; for he loved quiet and ease above all things, and quitted the government, after having possessed it three months. The tyranny of the Pharisees ended with his reign, after having greatly distressed the Jewish nation from the death of Alexander Jannæus.

The troubles of the state were not so soon appeased, to which the ambition of Antipas, better known under the name of Antipater father of Herod, gave birth. He was by extraction an Idumæan, and a Jew by religion, as were all the Idumæans, from

r A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2—8. De Bell. Jud. 1.—5.

* Baris was a castle situated upon a high rock, without the works of the temple, which were upon the same rock.

the time Hyrcanus had obliged them to embrace Judaism. As he had been brought up in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and of Alexandra his wife, who reigned after him, he had gained the ascendant of Hyrcanus their eldest son, with the hope of raising himself by his favour, when he should succeed to the crown [s]. But when he saw all his measures broke by the deposition of Hyrcanus, and the coronation of Aristobulus, from whom he had nothing to expect, he employed his whole address and application to replace Hyrcanus upon the throne.

The latter, by his secret negotiations, had at first applied to Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea, for aid to reinstate himself. After various events, which I pass over to avoid prolixity, he had recourse to Pompey, who, on his return from his expedition against Mithridates, was arrived in Syria [t]. He there took cognizance of the competition between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who repaired thither according to his orders. A great number of Jews went thither also to demand that they should be freed from the government of both the one and the other. They represented, that they ought not to be ruled by kings; that they had long been accustomed to obey only the high-priest, who, without any other title, administered justice according to the laws and constitutions transmitted down to them from their forefathers: that the two brothers were indeed of the sacerdotal line; but that they had changed the form of the government for a new one, which would enslave them, if not remedied.

Hyrcanus complained, that Aristobulus had unjustly deprived him of his birth-right, by usurping every thing, and leaving him only a small estate for his subsistence. He accused him also of practising piracy at sea, and of plundering his neighbours by land. And, to confirm what he alleged against him, he produced almost a thousand Jews, the principals of the nation, whom Antipater had brought expressly to support, by their testimony, what that prince had to say against his brother.

Aristobulus replied to this, That Hyrcanus had been deposed only for his incapacity; that his sloth and indolence rendered him entirely incapable of the public affairs; that the people despised him; and that he, Aristobulus, had been obliged to take the reins of the government into his own hands, to

[s] A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2.—8. et de Bell. Jud. 1—5.
[t] Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 5. Id. de Bel. Jud. 1.—5.

prevent them from falling into those of strangers. In fine, that he bore no other title than his father Alexander had done before him. And in proof of what he advanced, he produced a great number of the young nobility of the country, who appeared with all possible splendour and magnificence. Their superb habits, haughty manners, and proud demeanour, did no great service to his cause.

Pompey heard enough to discern, that the conduct of Aristobulus was violent and unjust, but would not however pronounce immediately upon it, lest Aristobulus, out of resentment, should oppose his designs against Arabia, which he had much at heart; he therefore dismissed the two brothers respectfully, and told them, that at his return from reducing Aretas and his Arabians, he should pass through Judæa, and that he would then regulate their affair, and make the necessary disposition of all things.

Aristobulus, who fully penetrated Pompey's sentiments, set out suddenly from Damascus, without paying him the least instance of respect, returned into Judæa, armed his subjects, and prepared for a good defence. By this conduct he made Pompey his mortal enemy.

Pompey applied himself also in making preparations for the Arabian war. Aretas, till then, had despised the Roman arms; but when he saw them at his door, and that victorious army ready to enter his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions. Pompey, however, advanced as far as Petra his capital, which he took. Aretas was taken in it. Pompey at first kept him under a guard, but at length he was released upon accepting the conditions imposed on him by the victor, who soon after returned to Damascus.

He was not apprised till then of Aristobulus' proceedings in Judæa. He marched thither with his army, and found Aristobulus posted in the castle of Alexandrion, which stood upon an high mountain at the entrance of the country. The place was extremely strong, built by his father Alexander, who had given his name to it. Pompey sent to bid him come down to him. Aristobulus was not much inclined to comply, but he at last gave into the opinion of those about him, who, apprehending a war with the Romans, advised him to go. He did so, and after a conversation which turned upon his difference with his brother, he returned into his castle. He repeated the same two or three times, in hopes, by that complacency, to gain upon Pompey, and induce him to decide in his favour. But for fear of accident, he did not omit to put

good garrison into his strong places, and to make all other preparations for a vigorous defence, in case Pompey should decree against him. Pompey, who had advice of his proceedings, the last time he came to him, obliged him to put them all into his hands, by way of sequestration, and made him sign orders for that purpose to all the commanders of those places.

Aristobulus, incensed at the violence which had been done him, as soon as he was released, made all haste to Jerusalem, and prepared every thing for the war. His resolutions to keep the crown, made him the sport of the different passions, hope and fear. When he saw the least appearance that Pompey would decide in his favour, he made use of all the arts of complacency to incline him to it. When, on the contrary, he had the least reason to suspect that he would declare against him, he observed a directly opposite conduct. Such was the contrariety visible in the different steps he took throughout this affair.

Pompey followed him close. The first place where he encamped in his way to Jerusalem, was Jericho; there he received the news of Mithridates' death, as we shall see in the following book.

He continued his march towards Jerusalem. When he approached, Aristobulus, who began to repent of what he had done, came out to meet him, and endeavoured to bring him to an accommodation, by promising an entire submission, and a great sum of money to prevent the war. Pompey accepted his offers, and sent Gabinus, at the head of a detachment, to receive the money; but when that lieutenant-general arrived at Jerusalem, he found the gates shut against him, and, instead of receiving the money, he was told from the top of the walls, that the city would not stand to the agreement. Pompey thereupon, not being willing that they should deceive him with impunity, ordered Aristobulus, whom he had kept with him, to be put in irons, and advanced with his whole army against Jerusalem. The city was extremely strong by its situation, and the works which had been made; and had it not been divided within doors against itself, was capable of making a long defence.

Aristobulus' party was for defending the place, especially when they saw that Pompey kept their king prisoner. But the adherents of Hyrcanus were determined to open the gates to that general. And as the latter were much the greater number, the other party retired to the mountain where the

temple stood, to defend it, and caused the bridges of the ditch and valley, which surrounded it, to be broken down. Pompey, to whom the city immediately opened its gates, resolved to besiege the temple. The place held out three months entire, and would have done so three more, and perhaps obliged the Romans to abandon their enterprise, but for the superstitious rigour with which the besieged observed the Sabbath. They believed, indeed, that they might defend themselves when attacked, but not that they might prevent the works of the enemy, or make any for themselves. The Romans knew how to take the advantage of this inaction upon the Sabbath-days. They did not attack the Jews upon them, but filled up the fosses, made their approaches, and fixed their engines without opposition. They threw down at length a great tower, with which so great a part of the wall fell, that the breach was large enough for an assault. The place was carried sword in hand, and a terrible slaughter ensued, in which more than twelve thousand persons were killed.

During the whole tumult, cries, and disorder of this slaughter, history observes that the priests, who were at that time employed in divine service, continued it with surprising unconcern, notwithstanding the rage of their enemies, and their grief to see their friends and relations massacred before their eyes. Many of them saw their own blood mingle with that of the sacrifices they offered, and the sword of the enemy make themselves the victims of their duty; happy, and worthy of being envied, if they were as faithful to the spirit, as the letter of it! Pompey, with many of his superior officers, entered the temple, and not only into the sanctuary, but into the Sanctum Sanctorum, into which, by the law, only the high-priest was permitted to enter once a-year, upon the solemn day of expiation. This was what afflicted and enraged the Jews most against the Romans.

Pompey did not touch the treasures of the temple, that consisted principally in sums which had been deposited there by private families for their better security. Those sums amounted to two thousand * talents in specie, without reckoning the gold and silver vessels, which were innumerable and of infinite value. † It was not, says Cicero, out of respect for the majes-

* Three hundred thousand pounds Sterling.

† Cn. Pompeius, captis Hierosolymis, victor ex illo fano nihil attigit. In primis hoc, ut multa alia, sapientur, quod in tam suspiciosa, ac maledica civitate, locum sermoni obtrectatorum non reliquit. Non enim credo religionem et ludæorum et hostium impedimento, prestantissimo imperatori, sed pudorem fuisse—istorum religio sacrorum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis vestri, majorum institutis abhorrebat.—Cic. pro Flacco, n. 67.—69.

ty of the God adored in that temple, that Pompey behaved in this manner; for, according to him, nothing was more contemptible than the Jewish religion, more unworthy the wisdom and grandeur of the Romans, nor more opposite to the institutions of their ancestors. Pompey, in this noble disinterestedness, had no other motive, than to deprive malice and calumny of all means of attacking his reputation. Such were the thoughts of the most learned of the Pagans upon the only religion of the true God. They blasphemed what they knew nothing of.

It has been observed, that till then Pompey had been successful in all things, but that after this sacrilegious curiosity, his good fortune abandoned him, and that his taking the temple of Jerusalem was his last victory.

SECTION V.

REIGN OF HYRCANUS II. WHICH CONTINUED TWENTY-FOUR YEARS.

POMPEY, [u] having put an end to the war, caused the walls of Jerusalem to be demolished, re-established Hyrcanus, and sent Aristobulus, with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, prisoners to Rome. He dismembered several cities from the kingdom of Judæa, which he united with the government of Syria, imposed a tribute upon Hyrcanus, and left the administration of affairs to Antipater, who was at the court of Hyrcanus, and one of his principal ministers. Alexander made his escape upon the way to Rome, and returned into Judæa, where he afterwards excited new troubles.

[x] Hyrcanus, finding himself too weak to take the field against him, had recourse to the arms of the Romans. Gabinius, governor of Syria, after having overthrown Alexander in a battle, went to Jerusalem, and reinstated Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood [y]. He made great alterations on the civil government, for from monarchical, as it had been, he changed it into aristocratical; but these innovations were but of short duration.

[z] Crassus, upon his march against the Parthians, always intent upon gratifying his insatiable avarice, stopped at Jerusalem, where he had been told great treasures were laid up.

u A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63. x A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57.
y Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 10. Id. de Bel. l. 1, 6. z A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 64.

He plundered the temple of all the riches in it, which amounted to the sum of ten thousand talents, that is to say, about one million five hundred thousand pounds Sterling.

Cæsar [a], after his expedition into Egypt, being arrived in Syria, Antigonus, who had made his escape from Rome with his father Aristobulus, came to throw himself at his feet, begged him to re-establish him upon the throne of his father, who was lately dead, and made great complaints against Antipater and Hyrcanus. Cæsar had too great obligations to both, to do any thing contrary to their interests; for, as we shall see in the sequel, without the aid he had received from them, his expedition into Egypt would have miscarried. He decreed that Hyrcanus should retain the dignity of high-priest of Jerusalem, and the sovereignty of Judæa, to himself and his posterity after him for ever, and gave Antipater the office of procurator of Judæa under Hyrcanus. By this decree, the aristocracy of Gabinius was abolished, and the government of Judæa re-established on its ancient footing.

Antipater caused the [b] government of Jerusalem to be given to Phasael his eldest son, and that of Galilee to Herod his second son.

Cæsar [c], at Hyrcanus' request, and in consideration of the services he had rendered him in Egypt and Syria, permitted him to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had caused to be demolished. Antipater, without losing time, began the work, and the city was soon fortified as it had been before the demolition. Cæsar was killed this year.

During the civil wars, Judæa, as well as all the other provinces of the Roman empire, was agitated by violent troubles.

Pacorus, [d] son of Orodes king of Parthia, had entered Syria with a powerful army. From thence he sent a detachment into Judæa, with orders to place Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, upon the throne, who on his side had also raised troops. Hyrcanus, and Phasael, Herod's brother, upon proposal of an accommodation, had the imprudence to go to the enemy, who seized them, and put them in irons. Herod escaped from Jerusalem the moment before the Parthians entered it, to seize him also.

a A. M. 3957. Ant. J. C. 47. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. xv. de Bell. Jud. 1. 8.
b Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17. de Bell. Jud. i. 8.
c A. M. 3960. Ant. J. C. 44. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17.
d A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43. Joseph. Antiq. xix. 24, 26. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 11.

Having missed Herod, they plundered the city and country, placed Antigonus upon the throne, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phasael in chains into his hands. Phasael, who well knew that his death was resolved, dashed out his brains against the wall, to avoid the hands of the executioner. As for Hyrcanus, his life was granted him; but, to render him incapable of the high-priesthood, Antigonus caused his ears to be cut off: for, according to the Levitical law [e], it was requisite that the high-priest should be perfect in all his members. After having thus mutilated him, he gave him back to the Parthians, that they might carry him into the east, from whence it would not be possible for him to embroil affairs in Judæa. [f] He continued a prisoner at Seleucia in Babylonia, till the coming of Phraates to the crown, who caused his chains to be taken off, and gave him entire liberty to see and converse with the Jews of that country, who were very numerous. They looked upon him as their king and high-priest, and raised him a revenue sufficient to support his rank with splendour. The love of his native country made him forget all those advantages. He returned the year following to Jerusalem, whither Herod had invited him to come, but put him to death some years afterwards.

Herod at first took refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rome. Antony was then in the high degree of power, which the triumvirate had given him. He took Herod under his protection, and even did more in his favour than he expected. For, instead of what he proposed, which was at most to obtain the crown for * Aristobulus, whose sister Mariamne he had lately married, with the view of only governing under him, as Antipater had done under Hyrcanus, Antony caused the crown to be conferred upon himself, contrary to the usual maxim of the Romans in like cases. For it was not their custom to violate the rights of the royal houses, which acknowledged them for protectors, and to give crowns to strangers. Herod was declared king of Judæa by the senate, and conducted by the consuls to the Capitol, where he received the investiture of the crown, with the ceremonies usual upon such occasions.

Herod passed only seven days at Rome in negotiating this great affair, and returned speedily into Judæa. He employ-

e Liv. xxi. 16.—24. f Joseph. Antiq. xv. 2.

* Aristobulus was the son of Alexandra, Hyrcanus' daughter; and his father was Alexander, son of Aristobulus, brother of Hyrcanus; so that the right of both brothers to the crown was united in his person.

ed no more time than three months in his journies by sea and land.

SECTION VI.

REIGN OF ANTIGONUS, OF ONLY TWO YEARS DURATION.

It was not so easy for Herod to establish himself in the possession of the kingdom of Judæa [g], as it had been to obtain his title from the Romans. Antigonus was not at all inclined to resign a throne which had cost him so much pains and money to acquire. He disputed it with him very vigorously for almost two years.

Herod [h], who during the winter had made great preparations for the following campaign, opened it at length with the siege of Jerusalem, which he invested at the head of a fine and numerous army. Antony had given orders to Sosius, governor of Syria, to use his utmost endeavours to reduce Antigonus, and to put Herod into full possession of the kingdom of Judæa.

Whilst the works necessary to the siege were carrying on, Herod made a tour to Samaria, and at length consummated his marriage with Mariamne. They had been contracted four years to each other; but the unforeseen troubles into which he fell, had prevented their consummating the marriage till then. She was the daughter of Alexander, the son of king Aristobulus, and Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcanus the Second, and thereby grand-daughter to those two brothers. She was a princess of extraordinary beauty and virtue: and possessed in an eminent degree all the other qualities that adorn the sex. The attachment of the Jews to the Asmonæan family, made Herod imagine, that by espousing her, he should find no difficulty in gaining their affections, which was one of his reasons for consummating his marriage at that time.

On his return to Jerusalem, Sosius and he, having joined their forces, pressed the siege in concert with the utmost vigour, and with a very numerous army, which amounted to at least sixty thousand men. The place, however, held out against them many months with exceeding resolution; and if the besieged had been as expert in the art of war and the de-

g A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39.
h A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. 27. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 13.

fence of places, as they were brave and resolute, it would not perhaps have been taken. But the Romans, who were much better skilled in those things than them, carried the place at length, after a siege of something more than six months.

[i] The Jews being driven from their posts, the enemy entered on all sides, and made themselves masters of the city. And to revenge the obstinate resistance they had made, and the pains they had suffered during so long and difficult a siege, they filled all quarters of Jerusalem with blood and slaughter, plundered and destroyed all before them, though Herod did his utmost to prevent both the one and the other.

Antigonus, seeing all lost, came and threw himself at the feet of Sosius in the most submissive and most abject manner. He was put in chains, and sent to Antony, as soon as he arrived at Antioch. He designed at first to have reserved him for his triumph; but Herod, who did not think himself safe as long as that branch of the royal family survived, would not let him rest till he had obtained the death of that unfortunate prince, for which he even gave a large sum of money [k]. He was proceeded against in form, condemned to die, and had the sentence executed upon him in the same manner as common criminals, with the rods and axes of the lictor, and was fastened to a stake; a treatment with which the Romans had never used any crowned head before.

Thus ended the reign of the Asmonæans, after a duration of an hundred and twenty-nine years, from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabeus. Herod entered by this means upon the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Judæa.

This singular, extraordinary, and till then unexampled event, by which the sovereign authority over the Jews was given to a stranger, an Idumæan, ought to have opened their eyes, and rendered them attentive to a celebrated prophecy, which had foretold it in clear terms; had given it as the certain mark of another event, in which the whole nation was interested, which was the perpetual object of their vows and hopes, and distinguished them by a peculiar characteristic from all the other nations of the world, that had an equal interest in it, but without knowing or being apprised of it.

i A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37.
k Joseph. Antiq. ibid. Plut. in Anton. p. 932. Dion. Cass. l. 49.

This was the prophecy of Jacob, who at his death foretold to his twelve sons, assembled round his bed, what would happen in the series of time to the twelve tribes, of which they were the chiefs, and after whom they were called. Amongst the other predictions of that patriarch concerning the tribe of Judah, there is this of which we now speak: "The [1] sceptre "shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between "his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gather- "ing of the people be." The sceptre or rod (for the Hebrew signifies both) implies here the authority and superiority over the other tribes.

All the ancient Jews have explained this prediction to denote the Messiah; the fact is therefore incontestible, and is reduced to two essential points. The first is, that as long as the tribe of Judah shall subsist, it shall have pre-eminence and authority over the other tribes; the second, that it shall subsist, and form a body of a republic, governed by its laws and magistrates, till the Messiah comes.

The first point is verified in the series of the history of the Israelites, wherein that pre-eminence of the tribe of Judah appears evidently. This is not the proper place for proofs of this kind; those who would be more fully informed, may consult the explanation of Genesis lately published *.

For the second point, we have only to consider it with the least attention. When Herod the Idumæan, and in consequence a stranger, was placed upon the throne, the authority and superiority which the tribe of Judah had over the other tribes, were first taken from it. The tribe of Judah had no longer the supremacy: it was no longer a body subsisting, from which the magistrates were taken. It was manifest, therefore, that the Messiah was come. But at what time did that tribe become like the rest, and was confounded with them? In the times of Titus Vespasian, and Adrian, who finally exterminated the remains of Judah. It was therefore before those times the Messiah came.

How wonderful does God appear in the accomplishment of his prophecies! Would it be making a right use of history, not to dwell a few moments upon facts like this, when we meet them in the course of our matter? Herod, reduced to quit Jerusalem, takes refuge at Rome. He has no thoughts of demanding the sovereignty for himself, but for another.

[1] Gen. xlix. 10.

* By F. Babuty, Rue St. Jaques.

It was the grossest injustice to give it to a stranger, whilst there were princes of the royal family in being. But it had been decreed from all eternity, that Herod should be king of the Jews. Heaven and earth should sooner pass away, than that decree of God not be fulfilled. Antony was at Rome, and in possession of sovereign power, when Herod arrives there. How many events were necessary to the conducting of things to this point! But is there any thing difficult to the Almighty?

ARTICLE II.

ABRIDGEMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE PARTHIANS.

THE Parthian empire was one of the most powerful and most considerable that ever was in the East. Very weak in its beginnings, as is common, it extended itself by little and little over all Asia Major, and made even the Romans tremble. Its duration is generally allowed to be four hundred and seventy-four years; of which two hundred and fifty-four were before Jesus Christ, and two hundred and twenty after him. Arsaces was the founder of that empire, from whom all his successors were called Arsacides. Artabanus, by birth a Persian, having overcome and slain Artabanus, the last of those kings, transferred the empire of the Parthians to the Persians, in the fifth year of the emperor Alexander, the son of Mammæus. I shall only speak here of the affairs of the Parthians before Jesus Christ, and shall treat them very briefly, except the defeat of Crassus, which I shall relate in all its extent.

I have observed elsewhere what gave[m] Arsaces I. occasion to make Parthia revolt, and to expel the Macedonians, who had been in possession of it from the death of Alexander the Great, and in what manner he had caused himself to be elected king of the Parthians. Theodotus at the same time made Bactria revolt, and took that province from Antiochus, surnamed Theos.

Some time after, Seleucus Callinicus[n], who succeeded Antiochus, endeavoured in vain to subdue the Parthians. He fell into their hands himself, and was made prisoner: this happened in the reign of Tiridates, called otherwise Arsaces II. brother of the first.

m A. M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250. n A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 236.

Antiochus, surnamed the Great [o], was more successful than his predecessor. He marched into the East, and repossessed himself of Media, which the Parthians had taken from him. He also entered Parthia, and obliged the * king to retire into Hyrcania, from whence he returned soon after with an army of an hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. As the war was of tedious duration, Antiochus made a treaty with Arsaces, by which he left him Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist him in conquering the revolted provinces. Antiochus [p] marched afterwards against Euthydemus king of Bactria, with whom he was also obliged to come to an accommodation.

Priapatius, the son of Arsaces II. succeeded his father, and, after having reigned fifteen years, left the crown at his death to Phraates I. his eldest son.

[q] Phraates left it to Mithridates, whom he preferred before his own issue, upon account of his extraordinary merit, and who was in effect one of the greatest kings the Parthians ever had. He carried his arms farther than Alexander the Great. It was he who made Demetrius Nicator prisoner.

[r] Phraates II. succeeded Mithridates his father. Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, marched against him at the head of a powerful army, under pretext of delivering his brother Demetrius, who had been long kept in captivity. After having defeated Phraates in three battles, he was himself overthrown and killed in the last, and his army entirely cut to pieces. Phraates, in his turn, at the time he had formed his design of invading Syria, was attacked by the Scythians, and lost his life in a battle.

[s] Artabanus his uncle reigned in his stead, and died soon after.

His successor was Mithridates II. of whom Justin says [t], that his great actions acquired him the surname of Great.

He declared war against the Armenians, and by a treaty of peace, which he made with them, he obliged their king to send him his son Tigranes as an hostage. [u] The latter was

o A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212.
p A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206.
q A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164.
r A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131.
s A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.
t Justin. p. 115.
u A. M. 3909. Justin. l. xviii. c. 3.

* The Abbe Longuezue, in his Latin dissertation upon the Arsacides, ascribes what is here said to Artabanus, whom he places between Arsaces II. and Priapatius. Justin says nothing of them.

afterwards set upon the throne of Armenia by the Parthians themselves, and joined with Mithridates king of Pontus, in the war against the Romans.

[x] Antiochus Eusebes took refuge with Mithridates, who re-established him in the possession of part of the kingdom of Syria for two years after.

[y] It was the same Mithridates, as we shall see hereafter, who sent Orobazus to Sylla, to demand the amity and alliance of the Romans, and who caused him to be put to death on his return, for having given place to Sylla.

Demetrius Eucerus[z], who reigned at Damascus, besieging Philip his brother in the city Bærea, was defeated and taken by the Parthian troops sent to the aid of Philip, and carried prisoner to Mithridates, who treated him with all the honours possible. He died there of disease.

Mithridates II. died[a], after having reigned forty years, generally regretted by his subjects. The domestic troubles with which his death was followed, considerably weakened the Parthian empire, and made his loss still more sensibly felt. Tigranes re-entered upon all the provinces he had given up to the Parthians, and took several others from them. He passed the Euphrates, and made himself master of Syria and Phœnicia.

During these troubles, the Parthians elected Mnaskires, and after him Sinatrocces, kings, of whom almost nothing more is known than their names.

[b] Phraates, the son of the latter, was he who caused himself to be surnamed, The God.

He sent ambassadors to Lucullus, after the great victory the Romans had obtained over Tigranes. He held at the same time secret intelligence with the latter. It was at that time Mithridates wrote him the letter which Sallust has preserved.

[c] Pompey having been appointed, in the place of Lucullus, to terminate the war against Mithridates, engaged Phraates in the party of the Romans.

The latter joins Tigranes the younger against his father, and breaks with Pompey.

x A. M. 3912. y A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90.
z A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 22.
a A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Strab. l. xi. p. 532. Plut. in Lucul. p. 500, &c.
b A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69. c A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 66.

[d] After Pompey's return to Rome, Phraates is killed by his own children. Mithridates, his eldest son, takes his place.

Tigranes, king of Armenia, dies almost at the same time. Artavasdes his son succeeds him.

Mithridates [e], expelled his kingdom, either by his own subjects, to whom he had rendered himself odious, or by the ambition of his brother Orodes, applies to Gabinius, who commanded in Syria, to re-establish him upon the throne; but without effect. [f] He takes up arms in his own defence. Besieged in Babylon, and warmly pressed, he surrenders to Orodes, who, considering him only as an enemy, and not a brother, causes him to be put to death; by which means Orodes becomes peaceable possessor of the throne.

But he found enough to employ him abroad [g], that he had no reason to expect. Crassus had lately been created consul at Rome, with Pompey, for the second time. On the partition of the provinces, Syria fell to Crassus, who was exceedingly rejoiced upon that account, because it favoured the design he had formed of carrying the war into Parthia. When he was in company, even with people he scarce knew, he could not moderate his transports. Amongst his friends, with whom he was under less restraint, he ran even into rhodomontades unworthy of his age and character, and seemed to forget himself in a strange manner. He did not confine his views to the government of Syria, nor to the conquest of some neighbouring provinces, nor even to that of Parthia; he flattered himself with doing such things as should make the great exploits of Lucullus against Tigranes, and those of Pompey against Mithridates, appear like the feats of infants in comparison with his. He had already over-run in thought Bactria and the Indies, and penetrated as far as the remotest seas, and the extremities of the East. However, in the instructions and powers which were given him, Parthia was in no manner included; but all the world knew his design against it was his darling passion. Such a beginning forebodes no success.

His departure had, besides, something more inauspicious in it. One of the tribunes, named Ateius, threatened to oppose his going; and was joined by many people, who could not suffer him to set out with gaiety of heart, to carry a war against a people who had done the Romans no injury, and

d A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56.
e Justin. l. xlii. c. 4. f A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55.
g A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54. Plut. in Crass. p. 552. 554.

were their friends and allies. That tribune, in consequence, having in vain opposed the departure of Crassus, made haste to the gate of the city through which he was to pass, and set a cauldron full of fire before him. When Crassus came to the place, he threw perfumes, and poured libations into the pan, uttering over them the most terrible imprecations, which could not be heard without making all present tremble with horror, and of which the misfortunes of Crassus have been regarded by many writers as the accomplishment.

Nothing could stop him. Superior to all opposition, he continued his march, arrived at Brundusium, and though the sea was very tempestuous, embarked, and lost abundance of ships in his passage. When he arrived at Galatia, he had an interview with king Dejotarus, who, though of a very advanced age, was at that time employed in building a new city. Upon which Crassus rallied him to this effect: "King "of the Galatians, you begin full late to build a city at the "twelfth hour of the day *."—And you, Lord Crassus," replied Dejotarus, "are not too early in setting out to make "war against the Parthians." For Crassus was at that time upwards of sixty years old; and his countenance still made him look older than he was.

He had been informed, [h] that there were considerable treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, which Pompey had not ventured to touch. He believed it worth his trouble to go a little out of his way, to make himself master of them. He therefore marched thither with his army. Besides the other riches, which amounted to very considerable sums, in it there was a beam of gold, inclosed and concealed in another of wood made hollow for that use: this was known only by Eleazar the priest, who kept the treasures of the sanctuary. This beam of gold weighed three hundred minæ, each of which weighed two pounds and an half. Eleazar, who was apprised of the motive of Crassus's march to Jerusalem, to save the other riches, which were almost all of them deposited in the temple by private persons, discovered the golden beam to Crassus, and suffered him to take it away, after having made him take an oath not to meddle with the rest. Was he so ignorant as to imagine any thing sacred with avarice? Crassus took the beam of gold, and, notwithstanding, made the rest of the treasures his plunder, which amounted to about fifteen hundred thousand pounds Sterling. He then continued his route.

h Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.

* The twelfth hour was the end of the day.

Every thing succeeded at first as happily as he could have expected. He built a bridge over the Euphrates without any opposition, passed it with his army, and entered the Parthian territories. He invaded them without any other real motive for the war, than the insatiable desire of enriching himself by the plunder of a country which was supposed to be extremely opulent. The Romans under Sylla, and afterwards under Pompey, had made peace, and several treaties with them. There had been no complaint of any infraction or enterprise to give a just pretext for a war: so that the Parthians expected nothing less than such an invasion; and, not being upon their guard, had made no preparations for their defence. Crassus in consequence was master of the field, and over-ran without opposition the greatest part of Mesopotamia. He took also several cities with no resistance; and had he known how to take advantage of the occasion, it had been easy for him to have penetrated as far as Seleucia and Ctesiphon, to have seized them, and made himself master of all Babylonia, as he had done of Mesopotamia. But instead of pursuing his point, in the beginning of autumn, after having left seven thousand foot and one thousand horse to secure the cities which had surrendered to him, he repassed the Euphrates, and put his troops into winter-quarters in the cities of Syria, where his sole employment was to amass money, and to plunder temples.

He was joined there by his son, whom Cæsar sent to him out of Gaul, a young man who had already been honoured with several of the military crowns given by the general to such as distinguished themselves by their valour. He brought with him one thousand chosen horse.

Of all the faults committed by Crassus in this expedition, which were very considerable, the greatest undoubtedly, after that of having undertaken this war, was his hasty return into Syria, for he ought to have gone on without staying, and to have seized Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians, instead of giving his enemies time to make preparations by his retreat, which was the cause of his ruin.

Whilst he was re-assembling all his troops from their winter-quarters, ambassadors from the king of Parthia arrived, who opened their commissions in a few words. They told him, that if that army was sent by the Romans against the Parthians, the war could not be terminated by any treaty of peace, and could only be brought to a conclusion by the final ruin of the

one or the other empire. That if, as they had been informed, it was only Crassus, who, against the opinion of his country, and to satiate his private avarice, had taken arms against them, and entered one of their provinces, the king their master was well disposed to act with moderation in the affair, to take pity on the age of Crassus, and to suffer the Romans in his dominions, rather shut up than keeping possession of cities, to depart with their lives and rings safe. They spoke, no doubt, of the garrisons left by Crassus in the conquered places. Crassus answered this discourse only with a rhodomontade. He told them, "They should have his answer in the city of "Seleucia." Upon which the most ancient of the ambassadors, named Vahises, made an answer, laughing, and shewing him the palm of his hand; "Crassus, you will sooner see hair "grow in the palm of my hand, than Seleucia." The ambassadors retired, and went to give their king notice, that he must prepare for war.

As soon as the season would permit [i], Crassus took the field. The Parthians had time, during the winter, to assemble a very great army, to make head against him. Orodes their king divided his troops, and marched in person with one part of them to the frontiers of Armenia: he sent the other into Mesopotamia, under the command of Surena. That general, upon his arrival there, retook several of the places Crassus had made himself master of the year before.

About the same time some Roman soldiers, who with exceeding difficulty had escaped out of the cities of Mesopotamia, where they had been in garrison, of which the Parthians had already retaken some, and were besieging the rest, came to Crassus, and related things to him highly capable of disquieting and alarming him. They told him, that they had seen with their own eyes the incredible numbers of the enemy, and that they had also been witnesses of their terrible valour, in the bloody attack of the cities they besieged. They added, that they were troops not to be escaped when they pursued, nor overtaken when they fled; that their arrows, of a weight, and at the same time of an astonishing rapidity, were always attended with mortal wounds, against which it was impossible to defend.

This discourse infinitely abated the courage and boldness of the Roman soldiers; who imagined, that the Parthians differed in nothing from the Armenians and Cappadocians, that

i A. M. 3951. Ant. J. C. 53. Plut. in Crass. p. 554.

Lucullus had so easily overthrown, and flattered themselves that the whole difficulty of the war would consist in the length of the way, and the pursuit of the enemy, who would never dare to come to blows with them. They now saw, contrary to their expectation, that they were to experience great battles and great dangers. This discouragement rose so high, that many of the principal officers were of opinion, that it was necessary for Crassus, before he advanced farther, to assemble a council, in order to deliberate again upon the whole enterprise. But Crassus listened to no other advice, but of those who pressed him to begin his march, and to make all possible expedition.

What encouraged him the most, and confirmed him in that resolution, was the arrival of Artabasus king of Armenia. He brought with him a body of six hundred horse, which were part of his guard; adding, that besides these he had ten thousand cuirassiers, and thirty thousand foot, at his service. But he advised him to take great care not to march his army into the plains of Mesopotamia, and told him, that he must enter the enemy's country by the way of Armenia. The reasons with which he supported this advice were, that Armenia, being a mountainous country, the Parthian horse, in which the greatest strength of their army consisted, would be rendered entirely useless to them; that if they took this route, he should be in a condition to supply the army with all necessaries; instead of which, if he marched by the way of Mesopotamia, convoys would be deficient, and he would have a powerful army in his front, on all the marches it would be necessary for him to take, before he could penetrate to the centre of the enemy's dominions; that in those plains, the horse would have all possible advantages against him; and lastly, that he must cross several sandy desarts, where the troops might be in great distress for want of water and provisions. The counsel was excellent, and the reasons unanswerable: but Crassus, blinded by Providence, which intended to punish the sacrilege he had committed in plundering the temple of Jerusalem, despised all that was said to him. He only desired Artabasus, who returned into his dominions, to bring him his troops as soon as possible.

I have said, that Providence blinded Crassus, which is self-evident in a great measure. But a Pagan writer makes the same remark upon it; this is Dion Crassus, a very judicious historian, and at the same time a warrior. He says, that the Romans under Crassus "had no salutary view, and were ei-

"ther ignorant upon all occasions of what was necessary to "be done, or in no condition to execute it; so that one would "have thought, that, condemned and pursued by some divi- "nity, they could neither make use of their bodies nor "minds." That Divinity was unknown to Dion. It was he whom the Jewish nation adored, and who avenged the injury done to his temple.

Crassus made haste therefore to set forward. He had seven legions of foot, near four thousand horse, and as many light-armed soldiers and archers, which amounted in all to more than forty thousand men, that is to say, one of the finest armies ever the Romans set on foot. When his troops passed the bridge he had laid over the river Euphrates, near the city of Zeugma, a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning drove in the faces of the soldiers, as if to prevent them from going on. At the same time a black cloud, out of which burst an impetuous whirlwind, attended with thunder claps and lightning, fell upon the bridge, and broke down a part of it. The troops were seized with fear and sadness. He endeavoured to reanimate them in the best manner he was able, promising them with an oath, that they should march back by the way of Armenia; and concluding his discourse with assuring them, that not one of them should return that way. Those last words, which were ambiguous, and had escaped him very imprudently, threw the whole army into the greatest trouble and dismay. Crassus well knew the bad effect they had produced; but out of a spirit of obstinacy and haughtiness, he neglected to remedy it, by explaining the sense of those words, to reassure the timorous.

He made his troops advance along the Euphrates. His scouts, whom he had sent out for intelligence, returned, and reported, that there was not a single man to be seen in the country, but that they had found the marks of abundance of horse, which seemed to have fled suddenly, as if they had been pursued.

Upon this advice, Crassus confirmed himself in his hopes; and his soldiers began to despise the Parthians, as men that would never have courage to stand a charge, and come to blows with them. Cassius advised him at least to approach some town where they had a garrison, in order to rest the army a little, and have time to learn the true number of the enemies, their force, and what designs they had in view; or, if Crassus did not approve that counsel, to march along the Euphrates towards Seleucia; because, by always keeping upon

the coast of that river, he would put it out of the power of the Parthians to surround him; and that, with the fleet, which might follow him, provisions might be always brought from Syria, and all other things of which the army might stand in need. This Cassius was Crassus's questor, and the same who afterwards killed Cæsar.

Crassus, after having considered this advice, was upon the point of coming into it, when a chief of the Arabians, named Ariamnes, came in unexpectedly, and had the address to make him approve a quite different plan. That Arab had formerly served under Pompey, and was known by many of the Roman soldiers, who looked upon him as a friend. Surena found him entirely qualified to play the part he gave him. Accordingly, when he was conducted to Crassus, he informed him that the Parthians would not look the Roman army in the face; that its name alone had already spread an universal terror among their troops; and that there wanted no more for the obtaining a complete victory, than to march directly up to them, and give them battle. He offered to be their guide himself, and carry them the shortest way. Crassus, blinded by this flattery, and deceived by a man who knew how to give a specious turn to what he proposed, gave entirely into the snare, notwithstanding the pressing instances of Cassius, and some others, who suspected that impostor's design.

Crassus would hearken to nobody. The traitor Ariamnes, after having persuaded him to draw off from the banks of the Euphrates, conducted him across the plain by a way at first level and easy, but which at length became difficult, from the deep sands, on which the army found itself engaged in the midst of a vast country, all bare, and of a frightful dryness, where the eye could neither discover end nor boundary, nor the troops hope to find rest and refreshment. If thirst, and the fatigue of the way, discouraged the Romans, the prospect of the country alone threw them into a despair still more terrible: for they could perceive, neither near them nor at a distance, the least tree, plant, or brook; not so much as an hill, nor a single blade of grass: nothing was to be seen all round but heaps of burning sand.

This gave just reason to suspect some treachery, of which the arrival of couriers from Artabasus ought to have fully convinced them. That prince informed Crassus, that king Orodes had invaded his dominions with a great army; that the war he had to support, prevented him from sending the

aid he had promised; but that he advised him to approach Armenia, in order to their uniting the forces against the common enemy; that if he would not follow that advice, he cautioned him at least to avoid, in his marches and encampments, the open plains, and such places as were commodious for the horse, and to keep always close to the mountains. Crassus, instead of giving ear to these wise counsels, flew out against those that gave them; and without vouchsafing to write an answer to Artabasus, he only told his couriers, "I have no time at present to consider the affairs of "Armenia: I shall go thither soon, and shall then punish "Artabasus for his treachery."

Crassus was so full of this Arab, and so blinded by his artful suggestions, that he had continued to follow him without the least distrust, notwithstanding all the advice that was given him, till he had brought him a great way into the sandy desert we have mentioned. The traitor then made his escape, and gave Surena an account of what he had done.

After a march of some days in a desert of the enemy's country, where it was difficult to have any intelligence, the scouts came in full speed to inform Crassus, that a very numerous army of the Parthians advanced with great order and boldness to attack him immediately. That news threw the whole camp into great trouble and consternation. Crassus was more affected with it than the rest. He made all possible haste to draw up his army in battle. At first, following the advice of Cassius, he extended his infantry as far as he could, that it might take up the more ground, and make it difficult for the enemy to surround him; he posted all his cavalry upon the wings. But afterwards he changed his opinion, and, drawing up his foot in close order, he made them form a large hollow square, facing on all sides, of which each flank had twelve * cohorts in front. Every cohort had a company of horse near it, in order that, each part being equally sustained by the cavalry, the whole body might charge with greater security and boldness. He gave one of the wings to Cassius; the other to his young son Crassus; and posted himself in the centre.

They advanced in this order to the banks of a brook which had not much water, but was however exceedingly grateful to the soldiers, from the exceeding drought and excessive heat. Most of the officers were of opinion, that it was proper to

* The Roman cohort was a body of infantry, consisting of five or six hundred men, and differed very little from what is now called a battalion.

encamp in this place, to give the troops time to recover the extraordinary fatigues they had undergone in a long and painful march, and to rest there during the night; that in the mean time, all possible endeavours should be used to get intelligence of the enemy, and that when their number and disposition were known, they might attack them the next day. But Crassus, suffering himself to be carried away by the ardour of his son, and of the horse under his command, who pressed him to lead them against the enemy, gave orders, that all who had occasion for refreshment, should eat under arms in their ranks; and, scarce allowing them time for that purpose, he commanded them to march, and led them on, not slowly and halting sometimes, but with rapidity, and as fast as they could move, till they came in view of the enemy. Contrary to their expectation, they did not appear either so numerous or so terrible as they had been represented, which was a stratagem of Surena's. He had concealed the greatest part of his battalions behind the advanced troops; and to prevent their being perceived by the brightness of their arms, he had given them orders to cover themselves with their vests or with skins.

When they approached, and were ready to charge, the Parthian general had no sooner given the signal of battle, than the whole field resounded with dreadful cries, and the most frightful noise: for the Parthians did not excite their troops to battle with horns or trumpets, but made use of a great number of hollow instruments covered with leather, and having bells of brass around them, which they struck violently against each other: the noise made by these instruments was rude and terrible, and seemed like the roaring of wild beasts, joined with claps of thunder. Those Barbarians had well observed, that of all the senses, none disorder the soul more than the hearing; that it strikes upon and affects it the most immediately, and is the most sudden in making it in a manner change its nature.

The trouble and dismay into which this noise had cast the Romans, were quite different, when the Parthians, throwing off on a sudden the covering of their arms, appeared all on fire, from the exceeding brightness of their helmets and cuirasses, which were of burnished steel, and glittered like sunbeams, and to which the furniture and armour of their horses added not a little. At their head appeared Surena, handsome, well-made, of an advantageous stature, and of a much greater reputation for valour than the effeminacy of his mien seemed to promise: for he painted after the fashion of the Medes,

and, like them, wore his hair curled, and dressed with art; whereas the Parthians still persevered in wearing theirs after the manner of the Scythians, much neglected, and such as nature gave them, in order to appear more terrible.

At first the Barbarians were for charging the Romans with their pikes, and endeavoured to penetrate and break the front ranks; but having observed the depth of that hollow square, so well closed and even, in which the troops stood firm and supported each other successfully, they fell back, and retired in a seeming confusion, as if their order of battle were broke. But the Romans were much astonished to see their whole army surrounded on all sides. Crassus immediately gave orders for his archers and light-armed foot to charge them; but they could not execute those orders long; for they were reduced by a hail of arrows to retire, and cover themselves by their heavy armed foot.

The disorder and dismay began now, upon experiencing the rapidity and force of those arrows, against which no armour was proof, and which penetrated alike whatever they hit. The Parthians dividing, applied themselves to shooting at a distance, without its being possible for them to miss, though they had endeavoured it; so close were the Romans embattled. They did dreadful execution, and made deep wounds; because, drawing their bows to the utmost, the strings discharged their arrows, of an extraordinary weight, with an impetuosity and force that nothing could resist.

The Romans, attacked in this manner on all sides by the enemy, knew not in what manner to act. If they continued firm in their ranks, they were wounded mortally; and if they quitted them to charge the enemy, they could do them no hurt, and suffered no less than before. The Parthians fled before them, and kept a continual discharge as they retired; for of all nations in the world, they were the most expert in that exercise, after the Scythians; an operation in reality very wisely conceived; for in flying they saved their lives, and in fighting avoided the infamy of flight.

As long as the Romans had hopes that the Barbarians, after having exhausted all their arrows, would either give over the fight, or come to blows with them hand to hand, they supported their distress with valour and resolution; but when they perceived, that in the rear of the enemy, there were camels laden with arrows, whither those who had exhausted their quivers wheeled about to replenish them, Crassus, losing almost all courage, sent orders to his son to endeavour, what-

ever it cost him, to join the enemy, before he was entirely surrounded by them; for they were principally intent against him, and were wheeling about to take him in the rear.

Young Crassus, therefore, at the head of thirteen hundred horse, five hundred archers, and * eight cohorts armed with round bucklers, wheeled about against those who endeavoured to surround him. The latter, whether they were afraid to stand before a body of troops that came on with so good an aspect, or rather designed to draw off young Crassus as far as they could from his father, immediately faced about and fled. Young Crassus upon that, crying out as loud as he could, "They don't stand us," pushed on full speed after them. The foot, animated by the example of the horse, piqued themselves upon not staying behind, and followed them at their heels. Carried on by their eagerness, and the joy which the hopes of victory gave them, they firmly believed they had conquered, and had nothing to do but to pursue, till, being at a great distance from their main body, they discovered their error; for those who seemed to fly, faced about, and being joined by many other troops, came on to charge the Romans.

Young Crassus thereupon made his troops to halt, in hopes that the enemy, upon seeing their small number, would not fail to attack them, and come to close fight. But those Barbarians contented themselves with opposing him in front with their heavy-armed horse, and sent out detachments of their light horse, that, wheeling about and surrounding them on all sides without joining them, poured in a perpetual flight of arrows upon them. At the same time, by stirring up the heaps of sand, they raised so thick a dust, that the Romans could neither see nor speak to one another; and by being pent up in a narrow space, and keeping close order, they were a kind of butt for every arrow shot at them, and died by slow but cruel deaths; for, finding their entrails pierced, and not being able to support the pains they suffered, they rolled themselves upon the sands with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner in exquisite torments; or, endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, which had penetrated across their veins and nerves, they only made their wounds the larger, and increased their pains.

Most of them died in this manner; and those who were still alive, were no longer in any condition to act; for when

* They consisted of near six thousand men.

young Crassus exhorted them to charge the heavy-armed horse, they shewed him their hands nailed to their bucklers, and their feet pierced through and through, and riveted to the ground; so that it was equally impossible for them either to defend themselves, or fly. Putting himself, therefore, at the head of his horse, he made a vigorous charge upon that heavy-armed body covered with iron, and threw himself boldly amongst the squadrons, but with great disadvantage, as well in attacking as defending; for his troops, with weak and short javelins, struck against armour either of excellent steel, or very hard leather; whereas the Barbarians charged the Gauls, who were either naked or lightly armed, with good and strong spears. These Gauls were troops in whom young Crassus placed the greatest confidence, and with whom he did most wonderful exploits; for those troops took hold of the spears of the Parthians, and closing with them, seized them by the neck, and threw them off their horses upon the ground, where they lay without power to stir, from the exceeding weight of their arms. Several of the Gauls, quitting their horses, crept under those of the enemy, and thrust their swords into their bellies. The horses, wild with the pain, leaped and reared, and throwing off their riders, trampled them under foot as well as the enemy, and fell dead upon both.

But what gave the Gauls most trouble, was heat and thirst; for they were not accustomed to support them. They lost also the greatest part of their horses, which, running precipitately upon that heavy-armed body, killed themselves upon their spears. They were obliged therefore to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who had received several dangerous wounds.

Upon their way, they saw at a small distance, a rising bank of sand, to which they retired. They fastened their horses in the centre, and made an inclosure with their bucklers, by way of intrenchment, in hopes that it would assist them considerably in defending themselves against the Barbarians; but it happened quite otherwise; for, in an even place, the front covered the rear, and gave it some relaxation, whereas upon this hill, the inequality of the ground shewing them over each other's heads, and those in the rear most, they were all exposed to the enemy's shot. So that, unable to avoid the arrows, which the Barbarians showered continually upon them, they were all equally the marks of them, and deplored their unhappy destiny, in perishing miserably, without being

able to make use of their arms, or to give the enemy proofs of their valour.

Young Crassus had two Greeks with him, who had settled in that country in the city of Carræ. Those two young men, touched with compassion to see him in so sad a condition, pressed him to make off with them, and to retire into the city of Ischnes, which had espoused the party of the Romans, and was not very remote. But he replied, "That the fear of no "death, however cruel, could induce him to abandon so many "brave men, who died out of love for him:" A noble sentiment for a young lord!—He ordered them to make off as fast as they could; and embracing them, dismissed them the service. For himself, not being able to make use of his hand, which was shot through with an arrow, he commanded one of his domestics to thrust his sword through him, and presented his side to him. The principal officers killed themselves: and many of those that remained were slain, fighting with exceeding valour. The Parthians made only about five hundred prisoners; and after having cut off young Crassus's head, marched immediately against his father.

The latter, after having ordered his son to charge the Parthians, and received advice that they were put to the rout, and pursued vigorously, had resumed some courage; and the more, because those who opposed him seemed to abate considerably of their ardour: for the greatest part of them were gone with the rest against young Crassus. Wherefore, drawing his army together, he retired to a small hill in his rear, in hopes that his son would speedily return from the pursuit.

Of a great number of officers sent successively by his son to inform him of the danger he was in, the greatest part had fallen into the hands of the Barbarians, who had put them to the sword. Only the last, who had escaped with great difficulty, got to his presence, and declared to him that his son was lost, if he did not send him directly a powerful reinforcement. Upon this news, Crassus was struck with such a diversity of afflicting thoughts, and his reason thereby so much disturbed, that he was no longer capable of seeing or hearing any thing. However, the desire of saving his son and the army, determined him to go to his aid; and he ordered the troops to march.

The Parthians, who returned from the defeat of young Crassus, arrived that moment with great cries and songs of victory, which from afar apprised the unfortunate father of

his misfortune. The Barbarians, carrying the head of young Crassus upon the end of a spear, approached the Romans, and insulting them with the most scornful bravadoes, they asked them of what family and relations that young Roman was: "For," said they, "it is impossible that a young man "of such extraordinary valour and bravery, should be the son "of so base and cowardly a father as Crassus."

This sight exceedingly dispirited the Romans; and instead of exciting the height of anger, and the desire of revenge in them, froze them with terror and dismay. Crassus, however, shewed more constancy and courage on his disgrace, than he had done before; and, running through the ranks, he cried out, "Romans, this morning regards only me. The for-"tune and glory of Rome are still invulnerable and invin-"cible, whilst you continue firm and intrepid. If you have "any compassion for a father who has just now lost a son "whose valour you admired, let it appear in your rage and "resentment against the Barbarians. Deprive them of their "insolent joy, punish their cruelty, and do not suffer your-"selves to be cast down by my misfortune. There is a ne-"cessity for experiencing some loss, when we aspire at great "atchievements. Lucullus did not defeat Tigranes, nor "Scipio Antiochus, without costing them some blood. It "is after the greatest defeats that Rome has acquired the "greatest victories. It is not by the favour of fortune she "has attained to so high a degree of power, but by her pa-"tience and fortitude in supporting herself with vigour against "adversity."

Crassus endeavoured by remonstrances of this kind to reanimate his troops; but when he had given them orders to raise the cry of battle, he perceived the general discouragement of his army, even in that cry itself, which was faint, unequal, and timorous; whereas that of the enemy was bold, full, and strenuous.

The charge being given in consequence, the light horse of the Parthians dispersed themselves upon the wings of the Romans, and taking them in flank, distressed them extremely with their arrows; whilst the heavy cavalry attacked them in front, and obliged them to close up in one great body: except those who, to avoid the arrows, of which the wounds occasioned a long and painful death, had the courage to throw themselves upon the horse, like men in despair. Though they did not do them much hurt, their audacity was attended with this advantage; it occasioned their dying immediately, by the

large and deep wounds they received; for the Barbarians thrust their lances through their bodies with such force and vigour, that they often killed two at once.

After having fought in that manner the remainder of the day, upon night's coming on, the Barbarians retired, saying, they would grant Crassus only that night to lament for his son, unless he should find it more expedient to consult his own safety, and prefer going voluntarily, to being dragged to their king Arsaces. They then encamped in the presence of the Roman army, in the firm expectation, that the next day they should meet with little or no difficulty in completing its defeat.

This was a terrible night for the Romans. They had no thoughts either of interring their dead, or of dressing their wounded, of whom the greatest part died in the most horrible torments. Every man was solely intent upon his particular distress; for they all saw plainly, that they could not escape, whether they waited for day in the camp, or ventured, during the night, to throw themselves into that immense plain, of which they saw no end. Besides which, in the latter choice, their wounded gave them great trouble. For, to carry them off would be very difficult, and extremely retard their flight; and if they were left behind, it was not to be doubted but they would discover the departure of the army by their cries and lamentations.

Though they were perfectly sensible, that Crassus alone was the cause of all their misfortunes, they however were unanimous in desiring to see his face, and to hear his voice. But for him, lying upon the ground, in an obscure corner, with his head covered in his cloak, he was to the vulgar, says Plutarch, a great example of the instability of fortune; to wise and considerate persons, a still greater of the pernicious effects of temerity and ambition, which had blinded him to such a degree, that he could not bear to be less at Rome than the first of so many millions of men; and thought himself low and mean, because there were two above him, Cæsar and Pompey.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius, approached him, and endeavoured to make him rise, and to console and encourage him. But seeing him entirely depressed by the weight of his affliction, and deaf to all consolation and remonstrance, they assembled the principal officers, and held a council of war directly; and it being their unanimous opinion, that it was necessary to retire immediately, they decamped

without sound of trumpet. This was done at first with great silence. But soon after, the sick and wounded, who could not follow, perceiving themselves abandoned, filled the camp with tumult and confusion, cries, shrieks, and horrible lamentations; so that the troops, who marched foremost, were seized with trouble and terror, imagining the enemy were coming on to attack them. By frequently turning back, and drawing up in battle, or busying themselves in setting the wounded who followed them upon the beasts of carriage, and in dismounting such as were less sick, they lost abundance of time. There were only three hundred horse, under the command of Ignatius, who did not stop, and arrived about midnight at the city of Carræ. Ignatius called to the sentinels upon the walls; and when they answered, bade them go to Coponius, who commanded in the place, and tell him that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians; and without saying any more, or letting them know who he was, he pushed on with all possible expedition to the bridge Crassus had laid over the Euphrates, and saved his troops by that means. But he was very much blamed for having abandoned his general.

However, the message he had sent to Coponius by those guards was of great service to Crassus; for that governor, wisely conjecturing from the manner in which the unknown person had given him that intelligence, that it implied some disaster, gave orders immediately for the garrison to stand to their arms. And when he was informed of the way Crassus had taken, he marched out to meet him, and conducted him and his army into the city. The Parthians, though well informed of his flight, would not pursue him in the dark, but the next day early entered the camp, and put all the wounded, who had been left there, to the number of four thousand, to the sword; and their cavalry being dispersed over the plain after those who fled, took abundance of them, whom they found straggling on all sides.

One of Crassus's lieutenants, named Varguntеius, having separated in the night from the gross of the army with four cohorts, missed his way, and was found the next morning upon a small eminence by the Barbarians, who attacked him. He defended himself with great valour; but was at length overpowered by multitudes, and all his soldiers killed, except twenty, who, with sword in hand, fell on the enemy in despair, in order to open themselves a passage through them. The Barbarians were so much astonished at their bravery,

that out of admiration of it, they opened, and gave them a passage. They arrived safe at Carræ.

At the same time Surena received false advice, that Crassus had escaped with the best of his troops, and that those who had retired to Carræ, were only a militia, that were not worth the trouble of pursuing. Surena, believing the reward of his victory lost, but still uncertain whether it were or not, desired to be better informed, in order to his resolving either to besiege Carræ if Crassus were there, or to pursue him if he had quitted it. He therefore dispatched one of his interpreters, who spoke both languages perfectly well, with orders to approach the walls of Carræ, and in the Roman language to desire to speak with Crassus himself, or Cassius, and to say that Surena demanded a conference with them.

The interpreter having executed his orders, Crassus accepted the proposal with joy. Soon after some Arabian soldiers came from the Barbarians, who knew Crassus and Cassius by sight, from having seen them in the camp before the battle. Those soldiers approached the place; and seeing Cassius upon the walls, they told him, That Surena was inclined to treat with them, and permit them to retire, upon condition that they would continue in amity with the king his master, and abandon Mesopotamia to him; that this was more advantageous for both parties, than to proceed to the last extremities.

Cassius came into this, and demanded that the time and place for an interview between Surena and Crassus should immediately be fixed. The Arabians assured him, that they would go and do their utmost to that effect; and withdrew.

Surena, overjoyed with keeping his prey in a place from whence it could not escape, marched thither the next day with his Parthians, who talked at first with extreme haughtiness, and declared, that if the Romans expected any favourable terms from them, they must previously deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound hand and foot into their hands. The Romans, enraged at such exceeding deceit, told Crassus, that it was necessary to renounce all remote and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, and fly that very night, without losing a moment's time. It was highly important, that not one of the inhabitants of Carræ should know this design, till the instant of its execution. But Andromachus, one of the citizens, was informed of it first, and by Crassus himself, who confided it to him, and chose him for his guide, relying very injudiciously upon his fidelity.

The Parthians, in consequence, were not long before they

were fully apprized of the whole plan, by the means of that traitor. But as it was not their custom to engage in the night, the impostor, to prevent Crassus from getting so much ground as might make it impossible for the Parthians to come up with him, led the Romans sometimes by one way, sometimes by another, and at length brought them into deep marshy grounds, and places abounding with great ditches, where it was very difficult to march, and necessary to make a great many turnings and windings, to extricate themselves out of that labyrinth.

There were some, who, suspecting that it was with no good design Andromachus made them go backwards and forwards in that manner, refused at last to follow him; and Crassus himself returned towards Carræ. By hasty marches he escaped into Syria with five hundred horse. Most of the rest, who had trusty guides, gained the pass of the mountains called Sinnachi, and were in a place of safety before the break of day. The latter might be about five thousand men, under the command of Octavius.

As for Crassus, the day overtook him, still embarrassed by the contrivance of the perfidious Andromachus in those marshy and difficult places. He had with him four cohorts of foot, armed with round bucklers, a few horse, and five lictors who carried the fasces before him. He at length came into the main road, after abundance of trouble and difficulty, when the enemy were almost upon him, and he had no more than twelve stadia to make, before he joined the troops under Octavius. All he could do was to gain as soon as possible another summit of these mountains, less impracticable to the horse, and in consequence not so secure. This was under that of the Sinnachi, to which it was joined by a long chain of mountains, that filled up all the space between them. Octavius therefore saw plainly the danger that threatened Crassus, and descended first himself from those eminences, with a small number of soldiers, to his aid. But he was soon followed by the rest, who, reproaching themselves for their cowardice, flew to his assistance. Upon their arrival they charged the Barbarians so rudely, that they obliged them to abandon the hill. After that, they placed Crassus in the midst of them, and forming a kind of rampart for him with their bucklers, they declared fiercely, that not an arrow of the enemy should approach their general's body, till they were all dead round him fighting in his defence.

Surena seeing that the Parthians, already repulsed, went

on with less vigour to the attack, and if the night came on, and the Romans should make the mountains, that it would be impossible for him to take them, he had again recourse to stratagem to amuse Crassus. He gave secret orders that some prisoners should be set at liberty, after having posted a number of his soldiers around them, who, seeming in discourse together, said, as the general report of the army, that the king was much averse to the continuing war with the Romans; that, on the contrary, his design was to cultivate their amity, and to give them proofs of his favourable inclinations, by treating Crassus with great humanity; and, that the effect might agree with their expressions, as soon as the prisoners were released, the Barbarians retired from the fight, and Surena, advancing peaceably with his principal officers towards the hill, with his bow unstrung, and arms extended, invited Crassus to come down and treat of an accommodation. He said with a loud voice, that, contrary to the king his master's will, and through the necessity of a just defence, he made them experience the force and power of the Parthian arms; and that at present he was disposed to treat them with mildness and favour, by granting them liberty to retire with entire security on his part. We have observed on more than one occasion, that the peculiar characteristic of these Barbarians was to promote the success of their designs by fraud and treachery, and to make no scruple of breaking through their engagements upon such occasions.

The troops of Crassus lent a willing ear to this discourse of Surena's, and expressed exceeding joy at it; but Crassus, who had experienced nothing but deceit and perfidy from the Barbarians, and to whom so sudden a change was very suspicious, did not easily give into it, and deliberated with his friends. The soldiers began to call out to him, and to urge him to accept this interview. From thence they proceeded to outrage and reproaches; and went so far as to accuse him of cowardice, charging him with exposing them to be slaughtered by enemies, with whom he had not so much as the courage to speak when they appeared unarmed before him.

Crassus at first had recourse to intreaties; and remonstrated to them, that by maintaining their ground for the rest of the day, upon the eminences and difficult places, where they then were, they might easily save themselves, when night came on: he even shewed them the way, and exhorted them not to frustrate such hopes of their approaching safety. But seeing they grew outrageous, that they were ready to mutiny, and

by striking their swords upon their shields, even menaced him; apprehending that commotion, he began to descend, and turning about, he only said these few words: "Octavius, and "you Petronius, with all the officers and captains here pre- "sent, you see the necessity I am under of taking a step I "would willingly avoid; and are witnesses of the indignities "and violence I suffer. But I beg you, when you have re- "tired in safety, that you will tell all the world, for the ho- "nour of Rome, our common mother, that Crassus perished, "deceived by the enemy, and not abandoned by his citizens." Octavius and Petronius could not resolve to let him go alone, but went down the hill with him, when Crassus dismissed his lictors, who would have followed him.

The first persons the Barbarians sent to him, were two Greeks, who, dismounting from their horses, saluted him with profound respect, and told him in the Greek tongue, that he had only to send some of his attendants, and Surena would satisfy him, that himself and those with him came without arms, and with all the fidelity and good intentions possible. Crassus replied, that had he set the least value upon his life, he should not have come to have put himself into their hands; and sent two brothers, named Roscius, to know only upon what foot they should treat, and in what number.

Surena caused those two brothers to be seized and kept prisoners; and, advancing on horseback, followed by the principal officers of his army, as soon as he perceived Crassus, "What do I see?" said he, "What! the general of the Ro- "mans on foot, and we on horseback! Let an horse be "brought immediately." He imagined that Crassus appeared in that manner before him out of respect. Crassus replied, "That there was no reason to be surprised that they came to "an interview, each after * the custom of his own country." "Very good," returned Surena; from henceforth let there "be a treaty of peace between king Orodes and the Romans: "but we must go to prepare and sign the articles of it upon "the banks of the Euphrates; for you Romans," added he, "do not always remember your conventions." At the same time he held out his hand to him. Crassus would have sent for an horse; but Surena told him there was no occasion for it, and that the king made him a present of that.

A horse was immediately presented to him, which had a golden bit; and the king's officers, taking him round the mid-

* Amongst the Romans, the consul always marched on foot, at the head of infantry.

dle, set him upon it, surrounded him, and began to strike the horse to make him go forwards fast. Octavius was the first, who, offended at such behaviour, took the horse by the bridle. Petronius seconded him, and afterwards all the rest of his attendants, who came round him, and endeavoured to stop the horse, and to make those retire by force, who pressed Crassus forwards. At first they pushed against each other with great tumult and disorder, and afterwards came to blows. Octavius, drawing his sword, killed a groom of one of those Barbarians. At the same time another of them gave Octavius a great wound with his sword behind, which laid him dead upon the spot. Petronius, who had no shield, received a stroke upon his cuirass, and leaped from his horse without being wounded. Crassus at the same moment was killed by a Parthian. Of those that were present, some were killed fighting around Crassus, and others retired in good time to the hill.

The Parthians soon followed them thither, and told them, that Crassus had suffered the punishment due to his treachery; but for them, that Surena let them know they had only to come down with confidence, and gave them his word that they should suffer no ill treatment. Upon this promise, some went down, and put themselves into the hands of the enemy; others took the advantage of the night, and dispersed on all sides; but of the latter very few escaped: all the rest were pursued the next day by the Arabians, who came up with them, and put them to the sword.

The loss of this battle was the most terrible blow the Romans had received from the battle of Cannæ. They had twenty thousand men killed in it, and ten thousand taken prisoners. The rest made their escape by different ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria: and out of these wrecks another army was afterwards formed in Syria, of which Cassius took upon him the command, and with it prevented that country from falling into the hands of the victor.

This defeat ought in one sense to have been more affecting to them than that of the battle of Cannæ, because they had less reason to expect it. When Hannibal was victorious at Cannæ, Rome was in a state of humiliation. She had already lost many battles, and had no thought but of defending herself, and repulsing the enemy. At this time Rome was triumphant, respected, and formidable to all nations: she was mistress of the most potent kingdoms of Europe, Asia, and Africa, lately victorious over one of the most powerful enemies she ever had; yet in the most exalted height of her

greatness, she saw her glory suddenly fall to the ground, in an attack upon a people, formed out of the assemblage of the eastern nations, whose valour she despised, and whom she reckoned already among her conquests. So complete a victory shewed those haughty conquerors of the world a rival in a remote people, capable of making head against, and of disputing the empire of the universe with them; and not only of setting bounds to their ambitious projects, but of making them apprehend for their own safety. It shewed that the Romans might be overthrown in a pitched battle, and fighting with all their forces; that that power, which till then, like the inundation of a mighty sea, had overflowed all the countries in its way, might at length receive bounds, and be restrained for the future within them.

The check received by Crassus from the Parthians was a blot on the Roman name, which the victories gained some time after by Ventidius were not capable of effacing. The standards of the vanquished legions were always shewn by them as sights. The * prisoners taken on that fatal day were kept there in captivity; and the Romans, citizens or allies, contracted ignominious marriages, to the shame of Rome, as Horace emphatically describes it, and grew old in tranquillity, upon the lands, and under the standard of the Barbarians. It was not till thirty years after, in the reign of Augustus, that the king of the Parthians, without being compelled to it by arms, consented to restore their standards and prisoners to the Romans, which was looked upon by Augustus, and the whole empire, as a most glorious triumph; so much were the Romans humbled by the remembrance of that defeat, and so much did they believe it incumbent on them to efface it, if possible, to the least trace? For themselves, they never could forget it. Cæsar was upon the point of setting out against the Parthians, to avenge the affront Rome had received from them, when he was killed. Antony formed the same design, which turned to his disgrace. The Romans, from that time, always regarded the war with the Parthians as the most impor-

* Milesne Crassi conjuge Barbara
Turpis maritus vixit? et hostium
(Proh Curia, inversique mores!)
Consenuit socerorum in armis;
Sub rege Medo Marsus et Appulus,
Anciliorum, nominis et togæ
Oblitus, æternæque Vestæ,
Incolumi Jove, et urbe Roma?

tant of their wars. It was the object of the application of their most warlike emperors, Trajan, Septimius, Severus, &c. The surname of Parthius, was the title of which they were fondest, and most sensibly flattered their ambition. If the Romans sometimes passed the Euphrates to extend their conquests beyond it, the Parthians in their turn did the same, to carry their arms and devastation into Syria, and even into Palestine. In a word, the Romans could never subject the Parthians to their yoke; and that nation was a wall of brass, which with impregnable force resisted the most violent attacks of their power.

When the battle of Carræ was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, where he had lately concluded a peace with Artabasus. The latter, upon the return of the expresses he had sent to Crassus, perceiving, by the false measures he took, that the Romans were infallibly lost, treated an accommodation with Orodes; and by giving one of his daughters to Pacorus, the son of the Parthian king, he cemented by that alliance the treaty he had lately made. Whilst they were celebrating the nuptials, the head and hand of Crassus were brought to them, which Surena had caused to be cut off, and sent the king as a proof of his victory. Their joy was exceedingly augmented by that sight; and it was said that orders were given to pour molten gold into the mouth of that head, to reproach the insatiable thirst which Crassus always had for that metal.

Surena did not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory. His master, jealous of his glory and of the credit it gave him, caused him to be put to death soon after. There are princes, near whom too shining qualities are dangerous; who take umbrage at the virtues they are forced to admire, and cannot bear to be served by superior talents, capable of eclipsing their own. Orodes was of this character. He * perceived, as Tacitus observes of Tiberius, that with all his power he could not sufficiently repay the service his general had lately done him. Now, when a benefit is above all return, ingratitude and hatred take place, instead of acknowledgement and affection.

Surena was a general of extraordinary merit. He was of consummate ability at thirty years of age, and surpassed all

* Destrui per hæc fortunam suam Cæsar, imparemque tanto merito rebatur. Nam beneficia eo usque læta sunt dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur.—Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 18.

men of his times in valour. He was, besides that, perfectly well made, and of the most advantageous stature. For riches, credit, and authority, he had also more than any man, and was undoubtedly the greatest subject the king of Parthia had. His birth gave him the privilege of putting the crown upon the king's head at his coronation; and that right had appertained to his family from the re-establishment of the empire. When he travelled, he had always one thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for his wives and concubines, and for his guard, one thousand horse completely armed, besides a great number of light-armed troops and domestics, which in all did not amount to less than ten thousand men.

The Parthians expecting, after the defeat of the Roman army, to find Syria without defence, marched to conquer it. But Cassius, who had formed an army out of the ruins of the other, received them with so much vigour, that they were obliged to repass the Euphrates shamefully, without effecting any thing.

The next [k] year the consuls, M. Calpurnius Bibulus and M. Tullius Cicero, were assigned the provinces of Syria and Cilicia. Cicero repaired immediately to the latter, which had been allotted him; but Bibulus amusing himself at Rome, Cassius continued to command in Syria. And that was much to the advantage of the Romans; for the affairs of that country required a man of a quite different capacity from Bibulus. Pacorus, son of Orodes king of the Parthians, had passed the Euphrates in the beginning of the spring, at the head of a numerous army, and had entered Syria. He was too young to command alone, and was therefore accompanied by Orsaces, an old general, who disposed of every thing. He marched directly to Antioch, which he besieged. Cassius had shut himself up in that place with all his troops. Cicero, who had received advice of his condition in his province, by the means of Antiochus king of Comagena, assembled all his forces, and marched to the eastern frontier of his province, which bordered upon Armenia, to oppose any invasion on that side, should the Armenians attempt it, and at the same time to be at hand to support Cassius in case of need. He sent another body of troops towards the mountain Amanus, with the same view. That detachment fell in with a great

k A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cic. ad Famil. l. ii. epist. x. 17. iii. 2. xi. 19. xv. 1.—4. Ad Attic. l. 20. v. 18. 21. vi. 1. 8. vii. 2.

detachment of the Parthian cavalry, which had entered Cilicia, and entirely defeated it; so that not a single man escaped.

The news of this defeat, and that of Cicero's approach to Antioch, extremely encouraged Cassius and his troops to make a good defence, and so much abated the ardour of the Parthians, that, despairing to carry the place, they raised the siege, and went to form that of Antigonia, which was not far from thence. But they were so little skilled in attacking towns, that they miscarried again before this, and were reduced to retire. That was no wonder; the Parthians made their principal force consist in cavalry, and applied themselves most to field battle, which suited their genius best. Cassius, who was apprised of the route they would take, laid an ambuscade for them, which they did not fail to fall into. He defeated them entirely, and killed a great number of them, amongst whom was their general Orsaces. The remains of their army repassed the Euphrates.

When Cicero saw the Parthians removed, and Antioch out of danger, he turned his arms against the inhabitants of Mount Amanus, who being situated between Syria and Cilicia, were independent of, and at war with both these provinces. They made continual incursions into them, and gave them great trouble. Cicero entirely subjected those mountaineers, and took and demolished all their castles and forts. He afterwards marched against another barbarous nation, a kind of savages, who called themselves [1] free Cilicians, and pretended to have never been subjected to the empire of any of the kings who had been masters of the countries round about. He took all their cities, and made such dispositions in the country, as very much pleased all their neighbours, whom they perpetually harassed.

It is Cicero himself who relates these circumstances in several of his letters. There are two among the rest, which may be looked upon as perfect models of the manner in which a general or commander ought to give a prince or his ministry an account of a military expedition; with such simplicity, perspicuity, and precision, in which the proper character of writings and relations of this kind consists, are they expressed. The first is addressed to the senate and people of Rome, and to the principal magistrates; it is the second of his fifteenth book of familiar epistles: the other is written particularly to

1 Eleuthero Cilices.

Cato. This last is a master-piece; wherein Cicero, who sionately desired the honour of a triumph for his military expeditions, employs all the art and address of eloquence to engage that grave senator in his favour. Plutarch tells us [m], that after his return to Rome, the senate offered him a triumph; and that he refused it, upon account of the civil war then ready to break out between Cæsar and Pompey, not believing that it became him to celebrate a solemnity which breathed nothing but joy, and at a time when the state was upon the point of falling into the greatest calamities. His refusal to triumph in the midst of the apprehensions and disorders of a bloody civil war, argues in Cicero a great love for the public good and his country, and does him much more honour than a triumph itself could have done.

During the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar, and those that followed, the Parthians, declaring sometimes for one, and sometimes for the other party, made several irruptions into Syria and Palestine. But those are events which particularly relate to the Roman or Jewish histories, and therefore do not enter into my plan.

I shall conclude this abridgement of that of the Parthians, with the death of Pacorus, and Orodes his father. Ventidius, who commanded the Roman armies, under the authority of Antony the triumvir, did not a little contribute to the re-establishing the honour of the nation. He was a soldier of fortune, who, from the lowest condition of [n] life, had raised himself by his merit to the highest dignities of the republic. In the war against the allies of Rome, who attempted to extort the freedom of the city by force, he was taken an infant, with his mother, in Asculum, the capital of the Picenians, by Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, and led in triumph before that general. Supported by the credit of C. Cæsar, under whom he had served in Gaul, and passed through all the degrees of the army, he became prætor and consul. He was the only person that triumphed for his exploits against the Parthians, and obtained that honour, after having been led in a triumph himself.

I have said, that Ventidius contributed very much to make the Romans amends for the affront they had received at the battle of Carræ. He had begun to revenge the defeat of Crassus and his army, by two successive victories gained over

m Plut. in Cic. p. 879.

n Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 65. Valer. Max. l. ix. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 4.

those terrible enemies. A third, still greater than the former, completed the work, and was obtained in this manner.

That [o] general, apprehending the Parthians, whose preparations were much advanced, would prevent him, and pass the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together out of their different quarters, had recourse to this stratagem. There was a petty eastern prince in his camp, under the name of an ally, whom he knew to be entirely in the interests of the Parthians, and that he held secret intelligence with them, and gave them advice of all the designs of the Romans which he could discover. He resolved to make this man's treachery the means to draw the Parthians into a snare he had laid for them.

With this view he contracted a more that ordinary intimacy with this traitor. He conversed frequently with him upon the operations of the compaign. Affecting at length to open himself to him with great confidence, he observed, that he was much afraid, from advices he had received, that the Parthians did not design to pass the Euphrates at Zeugma, as usual, but a great way lower. For, said he, if they pass at Zeugma, the country on this side is so mountainous, that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army consists, can do us no great hurt; but if they pass below, there are nothing but plains, where they have all manner of advantages against us; and it will be impossible for us to make head against them. As soon as he had imparted this secret to him, the spy did not fail, as Ventidius had rightly foreseen, to communicate it to the Parthians, with whom it had all the effect he could desire. Pacorus, instead of going to Zeugma, immediately took the other route, lost abundance of time in the great compass he was obliged to take, and in the preparations necessary for passing the river there. Ventidius got forty days by this means, which he employed in making Silon of Judæa join him, with the legions quartered on the other side of the Mount Taurus, and found himself in a condition to give the Parthians a good reception when they entered Syria.

As they saw that they had not been attacked either in passing the river, or afterwards, they attributed that inactivity to terror and cowardice, and marched directly to charge the enemy in their camp, though situated very advantageously upon

o A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 39. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 74. Plut. in Anton. p. 931. Appian. in Parth. 156. Dion. Cass. l. xlix. p. 403, 404. Justin. l. 42. c. 4.

an eminence, not doubting but they should soon make themselves masters of it, and that without much resistance. They were mistaken. The Romans quitted their camp, fell on them with impetuosity, and pushed them with the utmost vigour upon the declivity; and as they had the advantage of the ground, and their light-armed troops poured showers of darts upon the Parthians, they soon put them into disorder, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made at first. The slaughter was very great. Pacorus was killed in the battle; and his death was followed immediately with the flight of his whole army. The vanquished made haste to regain the bridge, in order to return into their own country: but the Romans prevented them, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Some few escaped by flight, and retired to Antiochus king of Comagena. History observes, that this celebrated battle, which so well revenged the defeat of Crassus, was fought exactly on the same day with the battle of Carræ, fourteen years before.

* Orodes was so struck with the loss of this battle, and the death of his son, that he was almost out of his senses. For several days he neither opened his mouth, nor took any nourishment. When the excess of his grief was a little abated, and would permit him to speak, nothing was heard from him but the name of Pacorus. He imagined that he saw him, and called to him; he seemed to discourse with him; and as if he were living, to speak to him, and hear him speak. At other times he remembered that he was dead, and shed a torrent of tears.

Never was grief more just. This was the most fatal blow for the Parthian monarchy it had ever received; nor was the loss of the prince less than that of the army itself. For he was the most excellent person the house of the Arsacides had ever produced, for justice, clemency, valour, and all the qualities which constitute the truly great prince. He had made himself so much beloved in Syria, during the little time he resided there, that never did the people express more affection for any of their native sovereigns, than for the person of this foreign prince.

* Orodes, repente filii morte et exercitus clade audita, ex dolore in furorem vertitur. Multis diebus non alloqui quenquam, non cibum sumere, non vocem mittere, ita ut etiam mutus factus videretur. Post multos deinde dies, ubi dolor vocem laxaverat, nihil aliud quam Pacorum vocabat. Pacorus ille videri, Pacorus audiri videbatur: cum illo loqui, cum illo consistere. Interdum quasi amissum, flebiliter dolebat.—Justin.

When Orodes had a little recovered the dejection into which the death of his dear son Pacorus had thrown him, he found himself extremely embarrassed about the choice of his successor out of his other children. He had thirty by different women, each of whom solicited him in favour of her own, and made use of all the ascendency she had over a spirit impaired by age and affliction. At last he determined, however, to follow the order of birth, and nominated Phraates, the eldest and most vicious of them all. [p] He had scarce taken possession of the throne, when he caused all his brothers whom his father had by the daughter of Antiochus Eusebes, king of Syria, to be murdered, and that only because their mother was of a better family than his, and they had more merit than himself. The father, who was still alive, not being able to avoid professing extreme displeasure upon that occasion, that unnatural son ordered him also to be put to death. He treated the rest of his brothers in the same manner, and did not spare his own son, from the apprehension that the people would set him upon the throne in his stead. It was this prince, so cruel in regard to all his own family, that treated Hyrcanus, king of the Jews, with peculiar favour and clemency.

ARTICLE III.

ABRIDGEMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF CAPPADOCIA.

I HAVE spoken, in several parts of this history, of the kings of Cappadocia, according as I had occasion, but without mentioning either their beginning or succession. I shall here unite, in one point of view, all that relates to that kingdom.

Cappadocia is a great country [q] of Asia Minor. The Persians, under whom it was first, had divided it into two parts, and established two satrapies or governments in it. The Macedonians, into whose possession it fell, suffered those two governments to be changed into kingdoms. The one extended towards Mount Taurus, and was properly called Cappadocia, or Cappadocia Major; the other towards Pontus, and was called Cappadocia Pontica, or Cappadocia Minor; they were at length united into one kingdom.

Strabo says, that Ariarathes was the first king of Cappado-

[p] A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37. [q] Strab. l. xii. p. 533, 534.

cia, but does not mention at what time he began to reign. It [q] is probable, that it was about that time Philip, father of Alexander the Great, began to reign in Macedonia, and Ochus in Persia; admitting that the kingdom of Cappadocia continued three hundred threescore and sixteen years, before it was reduced into a province of the Roman empire under Tiberius.

It was governed at first by a long succession of kings named Ariarathes, then by kings called Ariobarzanes, who did not exceed the third generation; and at length by the last, Archelaus. According to Diodorus Siculus, there were many kings of Cappadocia before Ariarathes; but as their history is almost entirely unknown, I shall make no mention of it in this place.

[r] Ariarathes I. He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes, for whom he had a particular affection.

[s] Having joined the Persians, in the expedition against Egypt, he acquired great glory, and returned home laden with honours by king Ochus.

Ariarathes II. son of the former, [t] had lived in peace in his dominions, during the wars of Alexander the Great, who, out of impatience to come to blows with Darius, was unwilling to be delayed for the conquest of Cappadocia, and had contented himself with some instances of submission.

After that prince's death, Cappadocia, in the partition made of the provinces of his empire by his generals, fell to Eumenes. Perdiccas, to put him in possession of it, conducted him thither at the head of a powerful army. Ariarathes on his side prepared for a vigorous defence. He had thirty thousand foot and a numerous cavalry. They came to a battle. Ariarathes was defeated and taken prisoner. Perdiccas caused him, with his principal officers, to be crucified, and put Eumenes into possession of his dominions.

Ariarathes III. after the death of his father, escaped into Armenia.

[u] As soon as he was apprised of the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and the employment the other wars gave Antigonus and Seleucus, he entered Cappadocia with troops lent him by Aradotes, king of Armenia. He defeated Amyntas, general of the Macedonians, drove him out of the country, and re-ascended the throne of his ancestors.

[x] Ariamnes his eldest son succeeded him. He entered into

q A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360. r A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.
s A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351.
t A. M. 3688. Ant. J. C. 336. Plut. in Eumen. p. 548. Diod. l. xviii. p. 599.
u A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315. x A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 284.

an alliance with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, and married his eldest son to Stratonice, the daughter of the same Antiochus. He had so great an affection for this son, that he made him his colleague in the kingdom.

Ariarathes IV. having reigned alone after the death of his father, left his dominions when he died to his son of the same name with himself, who was at that time very young.

[y] Ariarathes V. He married Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, an artificial princess, who, finding herself barren, had recourse to imposture. She deceived her husband, and made him believe that she had two sons, one of whom was called Ariarathes, and the other * Holophernes. Her barrenness ceasing some time after, she had two daughters, and then one son, who was named Mithridates. She confessed the fraud to her husband, and sent one of the supposed children to be brought up at Rome, with a small train, and the other into Ionia. The true son took the name of Ariarathes, and was educated after the manner of the Greeks.

Ariarathes V. supplied his father-in-law, Antiochus king of Syria, with troops, in the war which he undertook against the Romans. Antiochus having been defeated, Ariarathes sent [z] ambassadors to Rome to ask the senate's pardon, for having been obliged to declare against the Romans in favour of his father-in-law. This was granted him, but not till after he had been condemned to pay, by way of expiation for his fault, two hundred talents, that is to say, two hundred thousand crowns. The senate afterwards abated him half that sum, at the request of Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had lately married his daughter.

Ariarathes afterwards entered into an alliance with his son-in-law Eumenes, against Pharnaces king of Pontus. The Romans, who had rendered themselves arbiters of the kings of the East, sent ambassadors to transact a treaty between those three princes: but Pharnaces rejected their mediation. However, two years after, he was obliged to treat with Eumenes and Ariarathes, upon conditions sufficiently hard.

The latter had a son of his own name, who loved him in the most tender manner, which occasioned his being surnamed Philopater, and for whom he had no less affection. He desired to give him the proofs of it, in resigning the kingdom

y A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 190. z Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 40. l. xxxvii. n. 37. et 39.

* He is called so by Polybius, and Orophernes by Diodorus Siculus.

to him, and placing him upon the throne during his life. The son, who had all possible affection and respect for a father that so well deserved both, could not resolve to accept an offer so advantageous in the vulgar opinion of men, but a mortal wound to so good a heart as his; and represented to his father, that he was not one of those who could consent to reign during the life of him to whom he owed his being. Such examples of moderation, generosity, disinterestedness, and sincere affection for a father, are the more extraordinary, and were the more admired, as in the times of which we are now relating the history, inordinate ambition respected nothing, and boldly violated the most sacred ties of nature and religion.

Ariarathes VI. surnamed Philopater, reigned after his father's death, and was an excellent prince. As soon [a] as he ascended the throne, he sent an embassy to Rome, to renew the alliance his father had contracted with the Romans, which he found no difficulty to obtain. He applied himself very closely to the study of philosophy; from whence Cappadocia, which, till then, had been unknown to the Greeks, became the residence of many learned men.

Demetrius, king of Syria, had a sister, whom Ariarathes refused to espouse, lest that alliance should give offence to the Romans. That refusal extremely prejudiced Demetrius against the king of Cappadocia. He soon found an occasion to be revenged, by supplying Holophernes with troops, who, pretending himself the brother of [b] Ariarathes, expelled him from the throne, and after that violence reigned tyrannically. He put many to death, confiscated the estates of the greatest lords, and even plundered a temple of Jupiter, which had been reverenced by the people from time immemorial, and had never suffered such a violence before. Apprehending a revolution, which his cruelty gave him reason to expect, he deposited four hundred talents * with the inhabitants of Priene, a city of Ionia. Ariarathes had taken refuge at Rome, to implore aid of the Romans. The usurper sent his deputies thither also. The senate, according to the usual motives of their policy, decreed that the kingdom should be divided between the two brothers. [c] Ariarathes found a more immediate and more effectual protector, in the person

a A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Diod. in Eclog. l. xxxi. p. 165.
b Diod. in Excerpt. p. 324. et 336. c A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 455.
* Four hundred thousand crowns.

of Attalus king of Pergamus, who signalized the beginning of his reign, by re-establishing this unfortunate prince upon the throne of his ancestors. Ariarathes, to revenge himself on the usurper, was for obliging the inhabitants of Priene to deliver into his hands the four hundred talents Holophernes had left with them. They opposed that demand, with pleading the inviolable faith of deposits, which would not admit their giving up that sum to any one whatsoever, during the life of the person who had confided it to their keeping. Ariarathes had no regard to so just a representation, and laid waste their lands without mercy; notwithstanding which, so considerable a loss did not induce them to violate the fidelity they thought themselves obliged to observe in regard to him who had confided that deposit with them.

Holophernes had [d] retired to Antioch, where he joined in a conspiracy with the inhabitants of that city against Demetrius his benefactor, whose place he had conceived hopes of supplying. The conspiracy was discovered, and Holophernes imprisoned. Demetrius would have put him to death directly, if he had not judged it more adviseable to reserve him, in order to make use of him afterwards in the pretensions he had upon Cappadocia, and the design he had formed of dethroning and destroying Ariarathes; but he was prevented by the plot contrived against him by the three kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, who set Alexander Bala upon the throne in his stead.

Ariarathes aided the Romans against Aristonicus [e], who had possessed himself of the kingdom of Pergamus, and perished in the war.

He left six children whom he had by Laodice. The Romans, in gratitude for the father's services, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. Laodice, who was regent during the minority of those six princes, apprehending the loss of her authority when they should be of age to reign, poisoned five of them the same year their father died. She had treated the sixth in the same manner, if the vigilance of relations had not removed him from the fury of that unnatural mother. The people set him upon the throne, after having destroyed that cruel murderess of her children.

Ariarathes VII. [f] He married another Laodice, sister of Mithridates Eupater, and had two sons by her, Ariarathes

d Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

e A. M. 3876. Ant. J. C. 139. Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 1.

f A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91. Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 1.

VIII. and Ariarathes IX. His brother-in-law caused him to be murdered by Gordius, one of his subjects. Laodice afterwards married Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who immediately took possession of Cappadocia. Mithridates sent an army thither, drove out the garrisons of Nicomedes, and restored the kingdom to his nephew, the son of the same Ariarathes whom he had caused to be assassinated.

Ariarathes VIII. had scarce ascended the throne, when Mithridates pressed him to recal Gordius from banishment, with design to rid himself of the son by the same assassin who had killed the father. That young prince shuddered at the proposal, and raised an army to oppose the violence of his uncle. Mithridates, being unwilling to decide his measures by the hazard of a battle, chose rather to draw Ariarathes to a conference, in which he assassinated him with a dagger concealed for that purpose, in the view of the two armies. He set his own son, only eight years old, in his place, caused him to be called Ariarathes, and gave him Gordius for his governor [g]. The Cappadocians, not being able to bear the vexations of the lieutenants of Mithridates, rose in arms, called in Ariarathes, the late king's brother, from Asia, and placed him upon the throne.

Ariarathes IX. Soon after his return, Mithridates attacked, overthrew, and expelled him the kingdom. That young prince's grief brought a distemper on him, of which he died soon after. Mithridates had re-established his son upon the throne.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, apprehending that Mithridates, being in possession of Cappadocia, might fall upon his dominions, set up an infant of eight years old, to whom he also gave the name of Ariarathes, and sent deputies to the Romans, to demand the kingdom of his father in his name. Queen Laodice, his wife, went expressly to Rome to support the imposture, and to testify that she had three sons by Ariarathes VII. of whom this, which she produced, was the last. Mithridates, on his side, ventured to have assurances made by Gordius, that this son, whom he had placed upon the throne, was the son of that Ariarathes who had been killed in the war against Aristonicus. What times were these! what a series is here of frauds and impostures! The Roman people saw through them; and, not to support them on either side, decreed that Mithridates should renounce Cappadocia, which

[g] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 2.

for the future should enjoy its liberty, and govern itself as it thought proper. But the Cappadoeians sent to Rome to declare that liberty was insupportable to them, and to demand a king. We may justly be astonished at the taste of a people, who could prefer slavery to liberty! but there are caprieious and corrupt nations, to which the monarchical is better adapted than the republiean government; and there are few people, who are wise enough to make a moderate use of perfect and entire liberty. The Cappadocians elected, or rather received from the Romans, Ariobarzanes for their king, whose family was extinct at the third generation.

Ariobarzanes I. [h] This new prinee did not enjoy his dignity in peace. Mithraas and Bagoas, generals of Tigranes, drove him out of Cappadoeia, and reinstated Ariarathes, son of Mithridates. The Romans caused Ariobarzanes to be reinstated. He was expelled some time after by an army sent by Mithridates into Cappadocia in favour of his son. Sylla, having obtained great advantages over Mithridates, compelled him to abandon Cappadocia. Some time after, at the instigation of that prince, Tigranes invaded that kingdom, and carried off three hundred thousand men, to whom he gave lands in Armenia [i]. Ariobarzanes, who had escaped to Rome before the invasion, was not restored till Pompey had put an end to the war with Mithridates.

Ariobarzanes II. Pompey had considerably enlarged the dominions of Ariobarzanes, when he replaced him upon the throne of Cappadocia. His son suceeeded to all that great inheritance, but did not keep it long; he was killed some time before Cicero went to command in Cilicia. The prince who reigned at that time was Ariobarzanes III. grandson of Ariobarzanes I.

Ariobarzanes III. Cicero [k], upon quitting Rome, had received orders to favour and protect Ariobarzanes with all possible care, as a prince whose welfare was dear to the senate and people; a glorious testimonial, whieh had never before been granted to any king. Cicero punctually executed the order of the senate. When he arrived in Cilicia, Ariobarzanes was menaced with being killed, as his father had been. A conspiracy was on foot against him, in favour of his bro-

h A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Appian. in Mith. p. 176. &c. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Plut. in Sylla.

i A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66.

k A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 15. Cic. Epist. 2. et 4. l. xv. ad Famil. et Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

ther Ariarathes. The latter declared to Cicero, that he had no part in that plot; that indeed he had been earnestly solicited to accept the kingdom, but that he had always been infinitely averse to such thoughts during the life of his brother, who had no issue. Cicero employed the authority of his office, and all the credit his high reputation gave him, to dispel the storm with which the king was threatened. His * endeavours were successful; he saved the king's life and crown by his constancy, and a generous disinterestedness, which rendered him inaccessible to all the attempts that were made to corrupt his integrity, and to make him change sides. The greatest danger came from the high-priest of Comana. There were two principal cities of that name, the one in Cappadocia, and the other in the kingdom of Pontus [m]. They were consecrated to Bellona, and observed almost the same ceremonies in the worship of that goddess. The one was formed upon the model of the other; that of Pontus upon that of Cappadocia. It is of the latter we speak in this place. The temple of that goddess was endowed with great estates, and served by a vast number of persons, under the authority of a pontiff, a man of great credit, and so considerable, that only the king was his superior; he was generally of the blood-royal. His dignity was for life. Strabo says, that in his time there were above six thousand persons consecrated to the service of this temple. From hence the high-priest was so powerful; and † in the time of which we speak, might have occasioned a very dangerous war, and involved Ariobarzanes in great difficulties, had he thought proper to defend himself by force of arms, as it was believed he would; for he had troops, both horse and foot, ready to take the field, with great funds to pay and subsist them. But Cicero, by his prudence, prevailed upon him to retire out of the kingdom, and to leave Ariobarzanes in the peaceable possession of it.

During the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, Ariobarzanes marched with some troops to the latter, who were present at the battle of Pharsalia. This, no doubt, was the

m Strab. xii. p. 535, et 557.

* Ariobarzanes opera mea vivit, regnat Ἐν παρέδῳ consilio et auctoritate, et quod proditoribus ejus ἀπρόσιτόν με, non modo ἀδωροδόκητον, præbui, regem, regnumque servavi.—Cic. Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

† Cum magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, si sacerdos armis se (quod facturus putabatur) defenderat, adolescens et equitatu et peditatu et pecunia paratus, et toto, iis qui novari aliquid volebant, perfeci ut e regno ille discederet; rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis, omni auctoritate aulæ communita, regnum cum dignitate obtineret.—Cic. Epist. 4. lib. xv. ad Famil.

reason that Cæsar laid Ariobarzanes under contribution. It is certain he exacted very considerable sums of money from him [n]; for that prince represented to him, that it would be impossible for him to pay them if Pharnaces continued to plunder Cappadocia. Cæsar was then in Egypt; from whence he set out to reduce Pharnaces to reason. He passed through Cappadocia; and made such regulations there, as imply that Ariobarzanes and his brother were in no very good understanding, and entirely subjected the latter to the authority of the former. After Cæsar had conquered Pharnaces [o], he gave part of Cilicia and Armenia to Ariobarzanes.

This good treatment [p] gave the murderers of Cæsar reason to believe, that the king of Cappadocia would not favour their party. He did not openly declare against them; but he refused to enter into their alliance. This conduct gave them a just diffidence of him; so that Cassius thought it incumbent upon him not to spare him. He attacked him; and having taken him prisoner, put him to death.

Ariarathes X. By the death of Ariobarzanes, the kingdom of Cappadocia remained to his brother Ariarathes. The possession of it was disputed with him by Sisinna, the eldest son of Glaphyra, wife of Archelaus, high-priest of Bellona, at Comana in Cappadocia. This Archelaus was a grandson of Archelaus, a Cappadocian by nation, and general of an army in Greece for Mithridates against Sylla. He abandoned the party of Mithridates in the second war, as we shall relate in the twenty-second book [q], and joined the Romans. He left one son, named also Archelaus, who married Berenice, queen of Egypt, and was killed six months after in a battle. He obtained a very honourable dignity of Pompey, which was the high-priesthood of Comana in Cappadocia. His son Archelaus possessed it after him. He married Glaphyra, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and had two sons by her, Sisinna and Archelaus. [r] The first disputed the kingdom of Cappadocia with Ariarathes, who possessed it. Mark Antony was the judge of this difference, and determined it in favour of Sisinna. What became of him is not known; history only tells us, that Ariarathes re-ascended the throne. Five or six

n Cæsar de Bell. Civ. iii. Hist. de Bell. Alex.
o Diod. l. xlii. p. 183.
p A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42. Diod. l. xlvii.
q Strab. xii. p. 558. Diod. l. xxxix. p. 116.
r A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 675.

years after, Mark Antony expelled him [s], and set Archelaus, the second son of Glaphyra, upon the throne.

Archelaus. [t] That prince became very powerful. He expressed his gratitude to Mark Antony, by joining him with good troops at the battle of Actium. He was so fortunate, notwithstanding that conduct, to escape the resentment of Augustus. He was suffered to keep possession of Cappadocia, and was almost the only one treated with so much favour.

He assisted Tiberius [u] to re-establish Tigranes in Armenia, and obtained of Augustus, Armenia Minor, and a great part of Cilicia. Tiberius rendered him great services with Augustus, especially when his subjects brought accusations against him before that prince. He pleaded his cause himself, and was the occasion of his gaining it. Archelaus fixed his residence in the island of Eleusis near the coast of Cilicia, and having married Pythodoris, the widow of Polemon king of Pontus, he considerably augmented his power; for as the sons of Polemon were infants at that time, he had undoubtedly the administration of their kingdom jointly with their mother.

His reign was very long and happy; [x] but his latter years were unfortunate, in effect of Tiberius's revenge. That prince, who saw with pain that Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa, grandsons of Augustus, and his sons by adoption, were raised by degrees above him *; to avoid giving umbrage so the two young Cæsars, and to spare himself the mortification of being witness to their aggrandizement, demanded and obtained permission to return to Rhodes, under pretext that he had occasion to withdraw from business, and the hurry of Rome, for the re-establishment of his health. His retreat was considered as a real banishment; and people began to neglect him as a person in disgrace, and did not believe it safe

s A. M. 3968. Ant. J. C. 36. Diod. l. xlix. p. 411.

t A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31. Plut. in Anton. p. 944.

u A. M. 3984. Ant. J. C. 20. Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5. Diod. l. liv. p. 526. Sueton. in Tib. c. viii. Diod. l. lvii. p. 614. Strab. l. xiv. p. 671. et l. xii. p. 556.

x A. M. 3988. Ant. J. C. 16. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 662. Sueton. in Tib. c. x. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 99.

* Ne fulgor suus orientium juvenum obstaret initiis, dissimulata causa consilii sui commeatum ab socero atque eodem vitrico acquiescendi a continuatione laborum petiit.—Paterc. l. ii. c. 99.

to appear his friends. * During his stay at Rhodes, king Archelaus, who was not very remote from thence, residing generally at Eleusis †, paid him no honours, forgetting the great obligations he had to him. It was not, says Tacitus, out of pride or haughtiness, but by the advice of Augustus's principal friends, who believed the amity of Tiberius dangerous at that time. On the contrary [z], when young Caius Cæsar, appointed governor of the East, was sent into Armenia by Augustus, to appease the troubles of that country, Archelaus, who looked upon him as the future successor to the empire, paid him all kind of honours, and distinguished himself by the zeal with which he paid his court to him. Politicians are often mistaken in their conjectures, for want of a clear insight into futurity. It had been more consistent with prudence and wisdom in Archelaus, to have observed such a conduct as had been agreeable to each of the princes, who might both arrive at the empire. Something of this nature is observed of Pomponius Atticus ‡, who, during the divisions with which the republic was torn at different times, always knew how to render himself agreeable to both parties.

Tiberius never forgot the injurious preference that had been given to his rival, which was the more offensive to him, as it argued an ungrateful disposition in Archelaus. He made him highly sensible of this when he became master. Archelaus was cited to Rome [a], as having endeavoured to excite troubles in the province. Livia wrote to him; and without dissembling the Emperor's anger, gave him hopes of pardon, provided he came in person to demand it. This was a snare laid for drawing him out of his kingdom. The || king of Cappadocia either did not perceive it, or dared not act as if

z A. M. 4002. A. D. 12. a A. M. 4020. A. D. 17.

* Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, invisus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset. Nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitus; quia florente Caio Cæsare missoque ad res Orientis, intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur.—Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 42.

† Eleusis was but six leagues distant from Rhodes.—Strab. l. xiv. p. 651.

‡ Hoc quale sit, facilius existimabit is, qui judicare quantæ sit sapientiæ, eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque inter quos maximarum rerum non solum æmulatio, sed obtrectatio tanto intercedebat, quantum fuit incidere necesse inter Cæsarem atque Antonium, cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romanæ sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet.—Corn. Nep. in Attic. c. xx.

|| Ille ignatus doli, vel, si intelligere videretur, vim metuens in urbem properat: exceptusque immiti a principe, et mox accusatus a senatu; non ob crimina, quæ fingebantur, sed angore, simul fessus senio, et quia regibus æqua, nedum infima, insolita sunt, finem vitæ sponte an fato implevit.—Tacit, Annal. l. ii. c. 42.

he did. He set out for Rome, was very ill received by Tiberius, and saw himself proceeded against as a criminal. Dion assures us, that Archelaus, depressed with age, was generally believed to have lost his reason; but that in reality he was perfectly in his senses, and counterfeited the madman, because he saw no other means of saving his life. The senate passed no sentence against him; but age, the gout, and more than those, the indignity of the treatment he was made to suffer, soon occasioned his death. He had reigned two-and-fifty years. After his death Cappadocia was reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

This kingdom was very powerful. The revenues of Cappadocia were so considerable when Archelaus died, that Tiberius thought himself able, from his new acquisition, to abate the half of a tax he had caused to be levied. He even gave that province some relief, and would not exact from it all the duties it had paid the last king.

The kings of Cappadocia generally resided at Mazaca [b], a city situated upon the mountain Argea, and was governed by the laws of * Charondas. The city was built upon the river Melas, which empties itself into the Euphrates. A king of Cappadocia, whom Strabo only calls Ariarathes, without mentioning the time when he lived, having filled up the mouths of this river, it overflowed all the neighbouring country; after which he caused small islands to be made in it, after the manner of the Cyclades, where he passed part of his life in puerile diversions. The river broke the dams of its mouths; and the waters returned into their channel. The Euphrates, having received them, overflowed, and did incredible damage in Cappadocia. The Galatians, who inhabited Phrygia, suffered also great loses by that torrent; for which they insisted upon being made amends. They demanded three hundred talents of the king of Cappadocia; and made the Romans their judges.

Cappadocia abounded with horses, asses [c], and mules. It was from thence the horses were brought, so particularly allotted for the use of the emperors, that the cousuls themselves were forbid to have any of them. It furnished also great numbers of † slaves and false witnesses. The Cappadocians were reported to accustom themselves to the bearing of tor-

b Strab. l. xii. p. 537, 539. c Boch. Phaleg. l. iii. c. 11. Schol. Persii.

* This Charondas was a celebrated legislator of Græcia Major, of whom mention has been made.

† Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex.—Horat.

ments from their infancy, and put one another to the question by the rack, and other methods of torture, in order to inure themselves against the pains their false witness might one day expose them to suffer. This people exceeded the Greek nation in perjury [d], though the latter had carried that vice to a great height, if we may believe Cicero, who ascribes to them the having made this manner of speaking common amongst them; "Lend me your evidence [e], and I'll pay you with "mine."

Cappadocia, generally speaking, was far from being a country of great geniuses and learned men. It has produced, however, some very celebrated authors. Strabo and Pausanias are of that number. It was believed especially, that the Cappadocians were very unfit for the profession of orators: and it became a proverb, that a * rhetorician of that country was as hard to be found as a white raven or a flying tortoise. S. Basil and S. Gregory Nazianzen are exceptions to this rule.

d Cic. pro Flac. n. 9, 10. e Da mihi testimonium mutuum.

* Θεῖτον ὃ ην γευκὸς κοράκας πτηναςε χὲλὼνας
Ευρεῖν ἡ δόκιμον ῥητορα Καππαδὸκην.

BOOK TWENTY-FIRST.

THE

HISTORY

OF

SYRACUSE.

PLAN.

THIS twenty-first book contains the conclusion of the history of Syracuse. It may be divided into three parts. The first includes the long reign of Hiero II. The second, the short reign of his grandson Hieronymus, the troubles of Syracuse consequential of it, and the siege and taking of that city by Marcellus. The third is an exact abridgement of the history of Syracuse, with some reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans, and upon Archimedes.

ARTICLE I.

Including the reign of Hiero II.

SECTION I.

HIERO II. CHOSEN CAPTAIN-GENERAL BY THE SYRACUSANS, AND SOON AFTER APPOINTED KING.

HIERO II. was descended from the family of Gelon [a], who had formerly reigned in Syracuse. As his mother was of slavish extraction, his father Hierocles, according to the barbarous customs of those times, caused him to be exposed soon after his birth; believing that the infant dishonoured the nobility of his race. If Justin's fabulous account may be believed, the bees nourished him several days with their honey. The

a A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 4.

oracle declaring, that so singular an event was a certain presage of his future greatness, Hierocles caused him to be brought back to his house, and took all possible care of his education.

The child improved as much from the pains taken to form him, as could be expected. He distinguished himself early from all those of his years, by his address in military exercises, and his courage in battle. He acquired the esteem of Pyrrhus, and received several rewards from his own hands. He was of a beautiful aspect, large stature, and robust complexion. In his conversation * he was humane and polite, in business just, and moderate in command; so that he wanted nothing royal, except a throne.

[b] Discord having arisen between the citizens of Syracuse and their troops, the latter, who were in the neighbourhood, raised Artimedorus and Hiero to the supreme command, which comprehended all authority, civil and military. The latter was at that time thirty years old, but of a prudence and maturity that promised a great king. Honoured with this command, by the help of some friends he entered the city, and having found means to bring over the adverse party, who were intent upon nothing but raising disorders, he behaved with so much wisdom and greatness of mind, that the Syracusans, though highly dissatisfied with the liberty assumed by the soldiers, of making such an election without any right, were however unanimous in conferring upon him the title and power of supreme commander.

From his first measures, it was easy to judge that the new magistrate aspired at something more than that office. In effect, observing that the troops no sooner quitted the city, than Syracuse was involved in new troubles by seditious spirits and lovers of novelty, he perceived how important it was, in the absence of himself and the army, to have somebody upon whom he might rely for keeping the citizens within the bounds of their duty. Leptinus seemed very fit for this purpose. He had abundance of persons devoted to his interests, and was in very great credit with the people. Hiero attached him to himself for ever, by espousing his daughter: and by the same alliance secured the public tranquillity, during the time he should be obliged to remove from Syracuse, and march at the head of the armies.

b A. M. 3729. Ant. J. C. 275. Polyb. l. i. p. 8, 9.

* In alloquio blandus, in negotio justus, in imperio moderatus; prorsus ut nihil ei regium deesse præter regnum videretur.—Justin.

Another, much bolder, though far less just, stroke of policy, established his security and repose. He had every thing to fear from the foreign soldiers, turbulent, malignant men, void of respect for their commanders, and of affection for a state of which they made no part, solely actuated by the desire of command and lucre, and always ready for a revolt; who having been bold enough to assume a right in the election of magistrates, which did not belong to them, were capable, upon the least discontent, if attempting any thing against himself. He easily comprehended, that he should never have the mastery over them, from their being too well united amongst themselves; that if he undertook to punish the most criminal, their chastisement would only provoke the rest; and that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occasioned, was utterly to exterminate the factious militia, whose licentiousness and rebellious disposition were only fit to corrupt others, and incline them to pernicious excesses. Deceived by a false zeal, and blind love for the public good, and sensibly affected also with the prospect of the dangers to which he was perpetually exposed, he thought it incumbent on him, for the safety of his country, and security of his person, to proceed to a cruel and sad extremity, equally contrary to his character and justice, but which seemed necessary to him in the present conjuncture. He therefore took the field, under the pretext of marching against the * Mamertines. When he came within view of the enemy, he divided his army into two parts; on the one side he posted such of the soldiers who were Syracusans; on the other, those who were not so. He put himself at the head of the first, as if he intended an attack, and left the others exposed to the Mamertines, who cut them in pieces; after which he returned quietly to the city with the Syracusan troops.

The army being thus purged of all who might excite disorders and sedition, he raised a sufficient number of new troops, and afterwards discharged the duties of his function in peace. The Mamertines, elated with their first success, advancing into the country, he marched against them with the Syracusan troops, whom he had armed and disciplined well, and gave them battle in the plain of Myla. [c] A great part of the enemies were left upon the place, and their generals

c A. M. 3736. Ant. J. C. 268.

* They were originally Campanian troops, whom Agathocles had taken into his pay, and who afterwards seized Messina, having first put the principal inhabitants to the sword.

made prisoners. At his return he was declared king by all the citizens of Syracuse, and afterwards by all the allies. This happened seven years after his being raised to the supreme authority.

It would be difficult to justify the manner in which he attained that eminence. Whether he put the foreign soldiers in motion himself, which seems probable enough, or only lent himself to their zeal, it was a criminal infidelity to his country, and the public authority, to which his example gave a mortal wound. It is true, the irregularity of his entrance upon office was somewhat amended by the consent which the people and the allies afterwards gave to it; but can we suppose, in such a conjuncture, that their consent was perfectly free? As to his being elected king, there was nothing forced in that; if his secret ambition had any part in it, that fault was well atoned for by his wise and disinterested conduct through the long duration of his reign and life.

The loss of the battle we have spoken of, entirely disconcerted the affairs of the Mamertines. Some of them had recourse to the Carthaginians, to whom they surrendered their citadel; others resolved to abandon the city to the Romans, and sent to desire their aid. Hence arose the first Punic war, as I have explained more at large * elsewhere.

[d] Appius Claudius the consul put to sea, in order to aid the Mamertines. Not being able to pass the strait of Messina, of which the Carthaginians had possessed themselves, he made a feint of abandoning that enterprise, and of returning toward Rome with all the troops he had on board his fleet. Upon this news, the enemy, who blocked up Messina on the side next the sea, having retired, as if there had been nothing further to apprehend, Appius tacked about, and passed the strait without danger.

[e] The Mamertines, between menaces and surprise, having driven the officer out of the citadel who commanded in it for the Carthaginians, they called in Appius, and opened the gates of their city to him. The Carthaginians soon after formed the siege of it, and made a treaty of alliance with Hiero, who joined his troops to theirs. The Roman consul thought fit to venture a battle, and attacked the Syracusans first. The

d Frontin. Strat. l. i. c. 4.
A. M. 3744. Ant. J. C. 263. Polyb. l. i. p. 10, 11.
* Vol. I. History of the Carthaginians.

fight was rude. Hiero shewed all possible courage, but could not resist the valour of the Romans, and was obliged to give way, and retired to Syracuse. Claudius, having obtained a like victory over the Carthaginians, saw himself master of the field, advanced to the walls of Syracuse, and even designed to have besieged it.

[f] When the news of Appius's good success arrived at Rome, it occasioned great joy. In order to make the most of it, it was thought proper to use new efforts. The two consuls lately elected, Manius Otacilius and Manius Valerius, were ordered into Sicily. Upon their arrival, several of the Carthaginian and Syracusan cities surrendered at discretion.

The consternation of Sicily, joined to the number and force of the Roman legions, made Hiero conceive what event this new war was likely to have. That prince was sensible that he might rely upon a more faithful and constant amity on the side of the Romans. He knew that the Carthaginians had not renounced the design they had anciently formed, of possessing themselves of all Sicily; and if they made themselves masters of Messina, he rightly judged his power would be very insecure, in the neighbourhood of such dangerous and formidable enemies. He saw no other expedient for the preservation of his kingdom, than to leave the Carthaginians engaged with the Romans; well assured that the war would be long and obstinate between those two republics, equal in their forces; and that as long as they should be at blows, he should have no reason to apprehend being distressed either by the one or the other. He therefore sent ambassadors to the consul, to treat of peace and alliance. They were far from refusing those offers. They were too much afraid that the Carthaginians, masters at sea, might cut off all passage for provisions; which fear was the better founded, as the troops who had first passed the strait had suffered extremely by famine. An alliance with Hiero secured the legions in that respect, and was immediately concluded. The conditions were, that the king should restore to the Romans, without ransom, all the prisoners he had taken from them, and pay them one hundred * talents in money.

From henceforth Hiero saw no war in his dominions, nor had any other share in it, than of sending supplies to the Romans upon occasion. In other respects he reigned as a king

f Ibid. p. 15, 16.

* An hundred thousand crowns.

who had no view nor ambition but the esteem and love of his people. No prince was ever more successful in that point, nor longer enjoyed the fruits of his wisdom and prudence. During more than fifty years that he lived after being elected king, whilst all things were in flames around him, occasioned by the cruel wars which the two most potent states of the world made against each other, he was so prudent and happy as to be no more than a spectator of them, and only to hear the noise of those arms which shook all the neighbouring regions; himself and his people retained a profound peace.

[g] The Romans perceived, on more than one occasion, during the first Punic war, and especially at the siege of Agrigentum, with which it was in a manner opened, the importance of their alliance with Hiero, who abundantly supplied them with provisions, at times when the Roman army, without his aid, had been exposed to excessive famine.

The interval between the end of the first Punic war and the commencement of the second, which was about five-and-twenty years, was a time of peace and tranquillity to Hiero, in which the actions of that prince are little spoken of.

[h] Polybius only informs us, that the Carthaginians, in the unhappy war they were obliged to support against the strangers or mercenaries, which was called the African war, finding themselves extremely pressed, had recourse to their allies, and especially to king Hiero, who granted them all they asked of him. That prince conceived, that to support himself in Sicily, it was necessary that the Carthaginians should overcome in this war; lest the strangers, who had already obtained many advantages over the Carthaginians, in case of entire success, should find no further obstacles to their projects, and should form designs of bringing their victorious arms into Sicily. Perhaps also, as he was an excellent politician, he thought it incumbent on him to be upon his guard against the too great power of the Romans, who would become absolute masters, if the Carthaginians should be entirely ruined in the war against the revolters.

Hiero's sole application during this whole interval of peace, was to make his subjects happy, and to redress the evils which the unjust government of Agathocles, who preceded him some years, and the intestine divisions consequential of them,

g Polyb. l. i. p. 18.
h A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241. Polyb. l. i. p. 84.

had occasioned:—an employment worthy of a king. There was a levity and inconstancy in the character of the Syracusans, which often inclined them to excessive and violent resolutions; but at bottom they were humane and equitable, and no enemies to a just and reasonable obedience; the proof of which is, that when they were governed with wisdom and moderation, as by Timoleon, they respected the authority of the laws and magistrates, and obeyed them with joy.

Hiero was no sooner entered upon office, and had the supreme authority confided to him, than he shewed his detestation for the wretched policy of the tyrants; who, considering the citizens as their enemies, had no other thoughts than to weaken and intimidate them, and reposed their whole confidence in the foreign soldiers, by whom they were perpetually surrounded. He began by putting arms into the hands of the citizens, formed them with care in the exercises of war, and employed them in preference to all others.

SECTION II.

HIERO'S PACIFIC REIGN. HE DIES VERY OLD, AND MUCH REGRETTED BY THE PEOPLE.

When Hiero attained the sovereign authority, his great application was to convince his subjects, less by his words than his actions, that he was infinitely remote from intending any thing to the prejudice of their fortunes or liberty. He was not intent upon being feared, but upon being loved. He looked upon himself less as their master, than as their protector and father. Before his reign, the state had been divided by two factions, that of the citizens, and that of the soldiers; whose differences, supported on both sides with great animosity, had occasioned infinite misfortunes. He used his utmost endeavours to extinguish all remains of this division, and to eradicate from their minds all seeds of discord and misunderstanding. He seems to have succeeded wonderfully in that respect; as, during a reign of more than fifty years, no sedition or revolt disturbed the tranquillity of Syracuse.

What contributed most, without doubt, to this happy calm, was the particular care taken by Hiero, to keep his subjects employed; to banish luxury and idleness, the parents of all vices, the source of all seditions, from his dominions; to support and improve the natural fertility of his country; and to place agriculture in honour, which he looked upon as the cer-

tain means to render his people happy, and to diffuse abundance throughout his kingdom. The cultivation of lands, indeed, besides employing an infinity of hands, which would otherwise remain idle and unprofitable, draws into a country, by the exportation of grain, the riches of the neighbouring nations, and turns their current into the houses of the people, by a commerce renewing every year the deserved fruit of their labour and industry. This is, and we cannot repeat it too often, what ought to be the peculiar attention of a wise government, as one of the most essential parts of a wise and salutary policy, though unhappily too much neglected.

Hiero applied himself entirely to this end. He did not think it unworthy of the sovereignty, to study and be skilful in all the rules of agriculture. [i] He even gave himself the trouble to compose books upon that subject, of which we ought much to regret the loss: but he considered that object of his inquiries in a manner still more worthy of a king. The principal riches of the state, and the most certain fund of the prince's revenue, consisted in corn. He therefore believed it of the highest consequence, and what demanded his utmost care and application, to establish good order in that traffic; to render the condition of the husbandmen, of whom the greatest part of the people were composed, safe and happy; to ascertain the prince's dues, whose principal revenue arose from them; to obviate such disorders as might get ground, to the prejudice of his institutions; and to prevent the unjust vexations which endeavours might possibly be used to obtrude in the sequel. To answer all these purposes, Hiero made regulations so wise, reasonable, equitable, and at the same time conformable to the people's and prince's interests, that they became in a manner the fundamental laws of the country, and were always observed as sacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all succeeding times. When the Romans had subjected the city and dominions of Syracuse, they imposed no new tributes, and decreed, * that all things should be disposed according to "the laws of Hiero;" in order that the Syracusans, in changing their masters, might have the consolation not to change their laws; and see themselves in some measure still governed by a prince, whose name alone

i Polyb. l. xviii. c. 3.

* Decumas lege Hieronica semper vendendas censuerunt, ut iis jucundior esset muneris illius functio, si ejus regis, qui Siculus carissimus fuit, non solum instituta, commutato imperio, verum etiam nomen remaneret.—Cic. Orat. in Ver. de Frum. n. 15.

was always dear to them, and rendered those laws exceedingly venerable.

I have observed, that in Sicily the prince's principal revenue consisted in corn; the tenth being paid him. It was therefore his interest, that the country should be well cultivated; that estimates should be made of all the lands; and that they should produce abundantly, as his revenue augmented in proportion to their fertility. The collectors of this tenth for the prince, which was paid in kind and not in money, were called "Decumani," that is to say, "farmers of the tenths." Hiero, in the regulations he made upon this head, did not neglect his own interests, which argues him a wise prince, and good economist. He knew very well that there was reason to apprehend that the country-people, who consider the most legal and moderate imposts as intolerable burdens, might be tempted to defraud the prince of his dues. To spare them this temptation, he took such * just and exact precautions, that whether the corn were in the ear, on the floor to be threshed, laid up in barns, or laden for carriage, it was not possible for the husbandman to secrete any part of it, or to defraud the collector of a single grain, without exposing himself to a severe penalty. But he adds also, that Hiero had taken the same precautions against the avidity of the collectors, for whom it was equally impossible to extort any thing beyond the tenth. Hiero seems to have been very much against the husbandman's quitting his home, upon any pretext whatsoever. Cicero says accordingly, inveighing against Verres, who gave them great trouble, by frequent and painful journies,—It is very hard and afflicting to the poor husbandmen to be brought from the country to the city, from their plough to the bar, and the care of tilling their lands to that of prosecuting law-suits. [k] "Miserum atque iniquum ex agro "homines traduci in forum, ab aratro ad subsellia, ab usu "rerum rusticarum ad insolitum litem atque judicium." And besides, can they flatter themselves, let their cause be ever so just, that they shall carry it to the prejudice of the collectors? "Judico ut arator decumanum persequatur!"

Can there be any thing more to a king's praise than what we have now said? Hiero might undertake wars, for he did

k Cic. Orat. in Ver. de Frum. n. 14.

* Hieronica lex omnibus custodiis subjectum aratorem decumano tradit, ut neque in segetibus, neque in areis, neque in horreis, neque in amovendo, neque in asportando frumento, grano uno posset arator, sine maxima pœna, fraudare decumanum.—Cic. Orat. in Ver. de Frum. n. 20.

not want valour; gain battles, make conquests, and extend the bounds of his dominions; and upon these accounts might pass for a hero, in the sense of the generality of men. But with how many taxes must he have charged his people! How many husbandmen must he have torn from their lands! How much blood would the gaining those victories have cost him! And of what emolument would they have been to the state! Hiero, who knew wherein true glory consists, placed his in governing his people with wisdom, and in making them happy. Instead of conquering new countries by the force of arms, he endeavoured to multiply his own, in a manner, by the cultivation of lands, by rendering them more fertile than they were, and in actually multiplying his people, wherein the true force and riches of a state consists; and which can never fail to happen, when the people of a country reap a seasonable advantage from their labour.

[1] It was in the second Punic war that Hiero gave distinguished proofs of his attachment to the Romans. As soon as he received advice of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, he went with his fleet, well equipped, to meet Tiberius Sempronius, who had arrived at Messina, to offer that consul his services, and to assure him, that advanced in age as he was, he would shew the same zeal for the Roman people as he had formerly done in his youth, in the first war against the Carthaginians. He took upon him to supply the consul's legions, and the troops of the allies, with corn and clothes at his own expence. Upon the news received the same instant, of the advantage gained by the Roman over the Carthaginian fleet, the consul thanked the king for his advantageous offers, and made no use of them at that time.

[m] Hiero's inviolable fidelity for the Romans, which is very remarkable in his character, appears still more conspicuously after their defeat near the lake of Thrasymene. They had already lost three battles against Hannibal, each more unfortunate and more bloody than the other. Hiero, in that mournful conjuncture, sent a fleet laden with provisions to the port of Ostia. The Syracusan ambassadors, upon their being introduced into the senate, told them, "That Hiero, "their master, had been as sensibly afflicted on their late "disgrace, as if he had suffered it in his own person: that "though he well knew that the grandeur of the Roman

1 A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 218. Liv. l. xxi. n. 50.
m Ibid. l. xxii. n. 37, 38.

"people was always more admirable in times of adversity "than after the most signal successes, he had sent them all the "aid that could be expected from a good and faithful ally, "and earnestly desired the senate would not refuse to accept "it. That they had particularly brought a Victory of gold, "that weighed three hundred pounds, which the king hoped "they would vouchsafe to receive as a favourable augury, "and a pledge of the vows which he made for their prosperi-"ty. That they had also three hundred thousand bushels of "wheat and two hundred thousand of barley; and that if "the Roman people desired a greater quantity, Hiero would "cause as much as they pleased to be transported to whatever "places they should appoint. That he knew the Roman "people employed none in their armies but citizens and "allies; but that he had seen light-armed strangers in their "camp. That he had therefore sent them a thousand archers "and slingers, who might be opposed successfully to the Ba-"leares and Moors of Hannibal's army." They added to this aid a very salutary piece of counsel, which was, that the prætor who should be sent to command in Sicily, might dispatch a fleet to Africa, in order to find the Carthaginians such employment in their own country, as might put it out of their power, by that diversion, to send any succours to Hannibal.

The senate answered the king's ambassadors, in very obliging and honourable terms, "That Hiero acted like a very "generous prince, and a most faithful ally; that from the "time that he had contracted an alliance with the Romans, his "attachment for them had been constant and unalterable; "in fine, that in all times and places he had powerfully and "magnificently supported them: That the people had a due "sense of such generosity: That some cities of Italy had al-"ready presented the Roman people with gold, who, after "having expressed their gratitude, had not thought fit to "accept it: that the Victory was too favourable an augury "not to be received: that they would place her in the Capi-"tol, that is to say, in the temple of the most high Jupiter, "in order that she might establish there her fixed and lasting "abode." All the corn and barley on board the ships, with the archers and slingers, were sent to the consuls.

Valerius Maximus * observes here, upon the noble and

* Trecenta millia modium tritici, et ducenta millia hordei, aurique ducenta et quadraginta pondo urbi nostræ muneri misit. Neque ignarus verecundiæ majorum nostrorum, quod nollet accipere, in habitum id Victoriæ formavit, ut eos religione motos, munificentia sua uti cogeret; voluntate mittendi prius, iterum providentia cavendi ne remitteretur, liberalis.—Val. Max. l. iv. c. 8.

prudent liberality of Hiero; first, in the generous design he forms of presenting the Romans three hundred and twenty pounds weight of gold; then, in the industrious precaution he uses to prevent their refusal to accept it. He does not offer them that gold in specie; he knew the exceeding delicacy of the Roman people too well for that; but under the form of a Victory, which they dared not refuse, upon the account of the good omen it seemed to bring along with it.

It is extraordinary to see a prince, whose dominions were situated as Syracuse was in regard to Carthage, from which it had every thing to fear, at a time when Rome seemed near her ruin, continue unalterably faithful, and declare openly for her interests, notwithstanding all the dangers to which so daring a conduct exposed him. A more prudent politician, to speak the usual language, would perhaps have waited the event of a new action, and not have been so hasty to declare himself, without necessity, and at his extreme peril. Such examples are the more estimable for being rare and almost unparalleled.

I do not know, however, whether, even in good policy, Hiero ought to have acted as he did. It would have been the greatest of all misfortunes for Syracuse, had the Carthaginians entirely ruined, or even weakened, the Romans too much. That city would have immediately felt all the weight of Carthage; as it was situated over against it, and lay highly convenient for strengthening its commerce, securing it the empire of the sea, and establishing it entirely in Sicily, by the possession of the whole island. It had therefore been imprudent to suffer such allies to be ruined by the Carthaginians, who would not have been the better friends to the Syracusans for their having renounced the Romans by force. It was therefore a decisive point, to fly immediately to the aid of the Romans; and as Syracuse would necessarily fall after Rome, it was absolutely requisite to hazard every thing, either to save Rome, or fall with her.

If the facts which history has preserved of so long and happy a reign are few, they do not give us the least idea of this prince, and ought to make us exceedingly regret the want of more particular information concerning his actions.

[n] The sum of an hundred talents, an hundred thousand crowns, which he sent to the Rhodians, and the presents he made them after the great earthquake, that laid waste their

n Polyb. l. v. p. 429.

island, and threw down their Colossus, are illustrious instances of his liberality and magnificence. The modesty with which his presents were attended, infinitely exalts the value of them. He caused two statues to be erected in the Public Place at Rhodes, representing the people of Syracuse placing a crown upon the head of the Rhodians; as if, says Polybius, Hiero, after having made that people magnificent presents, far from assuming any vanity from his munificence, believed himself their debtor upon that very account. And indeed, the liberality and beneficence of a prince to strangers is rewarded with interest, in the pleasure they give himself, and the glory he acquires by them.

There is a pastoral of Theocritus, (Idyll. 16.) named after the king we speak of, wherein the poet seems to reproach that prince tacitly, with paying very ill for the verses made in honour of him. But the mean manner in which he claims, as it were, a reward for the verses he meditates, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more justice upon the poet than upon the prince, distinguished and esteemed, as we have seen, for his liberality.

[o] It is to Hiero's just taste, and singular attention to every thing that affected the public good, that Syracuse was indebted for those amazing machines of war, of which we shall soon see it make so great an use, when besieged by the Romans. Though that prince seemed to devote his cares entirely to the tranquillity and domestic affairs of the kingdom, he did not neglect those of war; convinced, that the surest means to preserve the peace of his dominions, was to hold himself always in readiness to make war upon unjust neighbours who should attempt to disturb it. He knew how to use the advantage of having in his dominions the most learned geometrician the world had ever produced; it is plain I mean Archimedes. He was illustrious, not only by his great ability in geometry, but his birth, as he was Hiero's relation. Sensible alone to the pleasures of the mind, and highly averse to the hurry and tumult of business and government, he devoted himself solely to the study of a science, whose sublime speculations of truths purely intellectual and spiritual, and entirely distinct from matter, have such attraction with the learned of the first rank, as scarce leaves them at liberty to apply themselves to any other objects.

Hiero had, however, sufficient power with Archimedes to

o Plut. in Marcel. p. 305, 306.

engage him to descend from those lofty speculations to the practice of the mechanics, which depend on the hand, but are disposed and directed by the head. He pressed him continually, not to employ his art always in soaring after immaterial and intellectual objects, but to bring it down to sensible and corporeal things, and to render his reasonings in some measure more evident and familiar to the generality of mankind, by joining them experimentally with things of use.

Archimedes frequently conversed with the king, who always heard him with great attention and extreme pleasure. One day, when he was explaining to him the wonderful effects of the power of motion, he proceeded to demonstrate, "That with a certain given power, any weight "whatsoever might be moved." And, applauding himself afterwards on the force of his demonstration, he ventured to boast, that if there were another world besides this we inhabit, by going to that, he could remove this at pleasure. The king, surprised and delighted, desired him to put his position in execution, by removing some great weight with a small force.

Archimedes preparing to satisfy the just and rational curiosity of his kinsman and friend, he chose one of the galleys in that port, caused it to be drawn on shore with great labour, and by abundance of men. He then ordered its usual lading to be put on board, and besides that, as many men as it could hold. Afterwards, placing himself at some distance, and sitting at his ease, without trouble, or exerting his strength in the least, by only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which he had provided with cords and pullies, he drew the galley to him upon the land, with as much ease, and as upright, as if it had swam upon the water.

The king, upon the sight of so prodigious an effect of the power of motion, was utterly astonished; and, judging from that experiment the efficacy of the art, he earnestly solicited Archimedes to make several sorts of machines and battering engines for sieges and attacks, as well for the defence as assault of places.

It has been sometimes asked, whether the sublime knowledge of which we speak, be necessary to a king; and if the study of arts and sciences ought to be a part of the education of a young prince? What we read here demonstrates their utility. If king Hiero had wanted taste and curiosity, and employed himself solely in his pleasures, Archimedes had remained inactive in his closet, and all his extraordinary science

had been of no advantage to his country. What treasures of useful knowledge lie buried in obscurity, and in a manner hid under the earth, because princes set no value upon learned men, and consider them as persons useless to the state! But when in their youth they have imbibed some small tincture of arts and sciences, for the study of princes ought to extend no farther in that point, they esteem such as distinguish themselves by learning, sometimes converse with them, and place them in honour, and by so glorious a protection, make way for valuable discoveries, of which the state soon reaps the advantage. Syracuse had this obligation to Hiero, which without doubt was the effect of his excellent education, for he had been bred with uncommon care and attention.

What has been said hitherto of Archimedes, and what we shall presently add upon the admirable machines of war which were used during the siege of Syracuse, shews how wrong it is to despise those sublime and speculative sciences, whose only subjects are simple and abstracted ideas. It is true, that all mere geometrical or algebraical speculations do not relate to useful things: but it is also as true, that most of those which have not that relation, conduct or refer to those that have. They may appear unprofitable, as long as they do not derive from this real intellectual world; but the mixed mathematics, which descend to matter, and consider the motions of the stars, the perfect knowledge of navigation, the art of drawing remote objects near by the assistance of telescopes, the increase of powers of motion, the nice exactitude of the balance, and other the like objects, become more easy of access, and in a manner familiarize themselves with the vulgar. The labour of Archimedes was long obscure, and perhaps contemned, because he confined himself to simple and barren speculations. Ought we therefore to conclude that it was useless and unprofitable? It was from that very source of knowledge, buried till then in obscurity, from which shot forth those living lights, and wonderful discoveries, which displayed from their birth a sensible and manifest utility, and gave the Romans astonishment and despair when they besieged Syracuse.

Hiero was great and magnificent in all things, in building palaces, arsenals, and temples. He caused an infinite number of ships of all burdens to be built for the exportation of corn, a commerce in which almost the whole wealth of the

island consisted. [p] We are told of a galley built by his order, under the direction of Archimedes, which was reckoned one of the most famous structures of antiquity. It was a whole year in building. Hiero passed whole days amongst the workmen, to animate them by his presence.

This ship had twenty benches of oars. The enormous pile was fastened together on all sides with huge nails of copper, that weighed each ten pounds and upwards.

The inside had in it three galleries or corridors, the lowest of which led to the hold by a descent of stairs, the second to apartments, and the first to soldiers lodgings.

On the right and left side of the middle gallery there were to the number of thirty apartments; in each of which were four beds for men. The apartments for the officers and seamen had fifteen beds, and three great rooms for eating; the last of which, that was at the poop, served for a kitchen. All the floors of these apartments were inlaid with small stories in different colours, taken from the Iliad of Homer. The cielings, windows, and all the other parts, were finished with wonderful art, and embellished with all kinds of ornaments.

In the uppermost gallery there was a gymnasium, or place of exercise, and walks proportionate to the magnitude of the ship. In them were gardens and plants of all kinds, disposed in wonderful order. Pipes, some of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water all around to refresh them. There were also arbours of ivy and vines, that had their roots in great vessels filled with earth. These vessels were watered in the same manner as the gardens. The arbours served to shade the walks.

After these came the apartment of Venus with three beds. This was floored with agates and other precious stones, the finest that could be found in the island. The walls and roof were of Cyprus wood. The windows were adorned with ivory, paintings, and small statues. In another apartment was a library, at the top of which, on the outside, was fixed a sun-dial.

There was also an apartment with three beds for a bath, in which were three great coppers, and a bathing vessel, made of a single stone of various colours. This vessel contained two hundred and fifty quarts. At the ship's head was a great reservoir of water, which held one hundred thousand quarts.

p Athen. l. iii. p. 206.—209.

All round the ship on the outside were Atlasses of six cubits, or nine feet, in height, which supported the sides of the ship: these Atlasses were at equal distances from each other. The ship was adorned on all sides with paintings, and had eight towers proportioned to its bigness; two at the head, two at the stern, and four in the middle, of equal dimensions. Upon these towers were parapets, from which stones might be discharged upon any ships of the enemy that should approach too near. Each tower was guarded by four young men completely armed, and two archers. The inside of them was filled with stones and arrows.

Upon the side of the vessel, well strengthened with planks, was a kind of rampart, on which was an engine to discharge stones, made by Archimedes; it threw a stone of three hundred weight, and an arrow of twelve cubits eighteen feet, the distance of a stadium, or an hundred and twenty-five paces, from it.

The ship had three masts, at each of which were two machines to discharge stones. There also were the hooks and lumps of lead to throw upon such as approached. The whole ship was surrounded with a rampart of iron, to keep off those who should attempt to board it. All around were iron graplings, Corvi, which being thrown by machines, grappled the vessels of the enemy, and drew them close to the ship, from whence it was easy to destroy them. On each of the sides were sixty young men, completely armed, and as many about the masts, and at the machines for throwing stones.

Though the hold of this ship was extremely deep, one man sufficed for clearing it of all water, with a machine made in the nature of a screw, invented by Archimedes. An Athenian poet of that name made an epigram upon this superb vessel, for which he was well paid. Hiero sent him one thousand medimni of corn as a reward, and caused them to be carried to the port of Pyræum. The medimnus, according to Father Montfaucon, is a measure that contains six bushels. This epigram is come down to us. The value of verse was known at that time in Syracuse.

Hiero, having found that there was no port in Sicily capable of containing this vessel, except some where it could not lie at anchor without danger, resolved to make a present of it to king Ptolemy *, and sent it to Alexandria. There was at that time a great dearth of corn throughout all Egypt.

* There is reason to believe that this was Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Several other vessels of less burden attended this great ship. Three hundred thousand quarters of corn were put on board them, with ten thousand great earthen jars of salted fish, twenty thousand quintals, or two millions of pounds of salt meat, twenty thousand bundles of different cloths, without including the provisions for the ships crews and officers.

To avoid too much prolixity, I have retrenched some part of the description Athenæus has left us of this great ship.

I should have been glad, that, to have given us a better idea of it, he had mentioned the exact dimensions of it. Had he added a word upon the benches of oars, it would have cleared up and determined a question, which, without it, must for ever remain doubtful and obscure.

Hiero's faith was put to a very severe trial, after the bloody defeat of the Romans in the battle of Cannæ, which was followed by an almost universal defection of their allies. But the wasting of his dominions by the Carthaginian troops, which their fleet had landed in Sicily, was not capable of changing him. [q] He was only afflicted to see that the contagion had spread even to his own family. He had a son named Gelon, who married Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus, by whom he had several children, and amongst others Hieronymus, of whom we shall soon speak. Gelon, despising his father's great age, and setting no value on the alliance of the Romans, after their last disgrace at Cannæ, had declared openly for the Carthaginians. He had already armed the multitude, and solicited the allies of Syracuse to join him; and would * perhaps have occasioned great troubles in Sicily, if his sudden and unexpected death had not intervened. It happened so opportunely, that his father was suspected of having promoted it. He did not survive his son long, and died at the age of fourscore and ten years, infinitely regretted by his people, having reigned fifty-four years.

q A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215. Liv. l. xxiii. n. 30.

* Movissetque in Siciliares, nisi mors, adeo opportuna ut patrem quoque suspicione adspergeret, armentam eum multitudinem, solicitantemque socios, absumsisset.—Liv.

ARTICLE II.

The Reign of Hieronymus, the Troubles consequential of it, and the Siege and Taking of Syracuse.

SECTION I.

HIERONYMUS, GRANDSON OF HIERO, SUCCEEDS HIM. HE IS KILLED IN A CONSPIRACY.

THE death of Hiero occasioned great revolutions in Sicily. The kingdom was fallen into the hands of Hieronymus his grandson, a young * prince, incapable of making a wise use of his independency, and far from resisting the seducing impressions of sovereign power. Hiero's apprehensions, that the flourishing condition in which he left his kingdom, would soon change under an infant king, suggested to him the thought and desire of restoring their liberty to the Syracusans. But his two daughters opposed that design with their whole credit, from the hope that the young prince would have only the title of king, and that they should have all the authority, in conjunction with their husbands, Andranadorus and Zoippus, who held the first rank amongst his guardians †. It was not easy for an old man of ninety to hold out against the caresses and arts of those two women, who besieged him day and night, to preserve the freedom of his mind against their pressing and assiduous insinuations, and to sacrifice with courage the interests of his family to those of the public.

To prevent as far as possible the evils he foresaw, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form his council; and earnestly desired them, at his death, never to depart from the alliance with the Romans, to which he had inviolably adhered for fifty years, and to teach the young prince to tread in his steps, and to follow the principles in which he had been educated till then.

The king dying after these dispositions, the guardians he had appointed his grandson immediately summoned the assembly, presented the young prince to the people, and caused the will to be read. A small number of people, expressly placed to applaud it, clapped their hands, and raised acclamations

* Puerum, vix dum libertatem, nedum dominationem modice laturum.—Liv.

† Non facile erat, nonagesimum jam agenti annum, circumcesso dies noctesque muliebribus blanditiis, liberare animum, et convertere ad publicam privatam curam. —Liv.

of joy. All the rest, in a consternation equal to that of a family who had lately lost a good father, kept a mournful silence, which sufficiently expressed their grief for their loss, and their apprehension of what was to come. His * funeral was afterwards solemnized, and more honoured by the sorrow and tears of his subjects, than the care and regard of his relations for his memory.

Andranadorus's first care was to remove all the other guardians, by telling them roundly, the prince was of age to govern for himself.

He was at that time near fifteen years old; so that Andranadorus, being the first to renounce the guardianship held by him in common with many colleagues, united in his own person all their power. The dispositions made by the wisest princes at their death, are often little regarded, and seldom executed afterwards.

The † best and most moderate prince in the world, succeeding a king so well beloved by his subjects as Hiero had been, would have found it very difficult to console them for the loss they had sustained. But Hieronymus, as if he had strove by his vices to make him still more regretted, no sooner ascended the throne, than he made the people sensible how much all things were altered. Neither king Hiero, nor Gelon his son, during so many years, had ever distinguished themselves from the other citizens by their habits, or any other ornaments intimating pride. Hieronymus was presently seen in a purple robe, with a diadem on his head, and surrounded by a troop of armed guards. Sometimes he affected to imitate Dionysius the tyrant, in coming out of his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses. All the ‡ rest of his conduct was suitable to his equipage; a visible contempt for all the world, haughty and disdainful in hearing, and affectation of saying disobliging things; so difficult of access, that not only strangers, but even his guardians, could scarce approach him; a refinement of taste in discovering new methods of debauch; a cruelty so excessive, as to extinguish all sense of humanity in him: this odious disposition of the young king terrified the people to such a degree, that even some of his guardians,

* Funus sit regium, magis amore civium et caritate, quam cura suorum celebre. —Liv.

† Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracusanos succedenti tantæ caritati Hieronis. Verum enimvero Hieronymus, velut suis vitiis desiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo statim conspectu, omnia quam disparia essent ostendit.—Liv.

‡ Hunc tam superbum apparatum habitumque convenientes sequebantur contemptus omnium hominum, superbæ aures, contumeliosa dicta, rari aditus, non alienis modo sed tutoribus etiam; libidines novæ inhumana crudelitas.—Liv.

to escape his cruelty, either put themselves to death, or condemned themselves to voluntary banishment.

Only three men, Andranadorus and Zoippus, both Hiero's sons-in-law, and Thraso, had a great freedom of access to the young king. He listened a little more to them than to others; but as the two first openly declared for the Carthaginians, and the latter for the Romans, that difference of sentiments, and very warm disputes frequently the consequence of it, drew upon them that prince's attention.

About this time a conspiracy against the life of Hieronymus happened to be discovered. One of the principal conspirators, named Theodotus, was accused. Being put to the question, he confessed the crime as to himself; but all the violence of the most cruel torments, could not make him betray his accomplices. At length, as if no longer able to support the pains inflicted on him, he accused the king's best friends, though innocent, amongst whom he named Thraso, as the ring-leader of the whole enterprise; adding, that they should never have engaged in it, if a man of his credit had not been at their head. The zeal he had always expressed for the Roman interests, rendered the evidence probable; and he was accordingly put to death. Not one of the accomplices, during their companions being tortured, either fled or concealed himself; so much they relied upon the fidelity of Theodotus, who had the fortitude to keep the secret inviolable.

The death of Thraso, who was the sole support of the alliance with the Romans, left the field open to the partizans of Carthage. Hieronymus dispatched ambassadors to Hannibal, who sent back a young Carthaginian officer of illustrious birth, named also Hannibal, with Hippocrates and Epicydes, natives of Carthage, but descended from the Syracusans by their father. After the treaty with Hieronymus was concluded, the young officer returned to his general; the two others continued with the king, by Hannibal's permission. The conditions of the treaty were, That after having driven the Romans out of Sicily, of which they fully assured themselves, the river Himera, which almost divides the island, should be the boundary of their respective dominions. Hieronymus, blown up by the praises of his flatterers, demanded even some time after, that all Sicily should be given up to him, leaving the Carthaginians Italy for their part. The proposal appeared idle and rash; but Hannibal gave very little attention to it, having no other view at that time, than of drawing off the young king from the party of the Romans.

Upon the first rumour of this treaty, Appius, prætor of Sicily, sent ambassadors to Hieronymus, to renew the alliance made by his grandfather with the Romans. That proud prince received them with great contempt; asking them, with an air of raillery and insult, what had passed at the battle of Cannæ; that Hannibal's ambassadors had related incredible things of it; that it was easy to know the truth from their mouths, and thence to determine upon the choice of his allies. The Romans made answer, that they would return to him when he had learned to treat ambassadors seriously and with reason; and after having cautioned rather than desired him not to change sides too rashly, they withdrew.

At length his cruelty, and the other vices to which he blindly abandoned himself, drew upon him an unfortunate end. Those who had formed the conspiracy mentioned before, pursued their scheme; and having found a favourable opportunity for the execution of their enterprise, killed him in the city of the Leontines, on a journey he made from Syracuse into the country.

Here is a sensible instance of the difference between a king and a tyrant; and that it is not in guards or arms the security of a prince consists, but the affection of his subjects. Hiero, from being convinced that those who have the laws in their hands for the government of the people, ought always to govern themselves by the laws, behaved in such a manner, that it might be said the law, and not Hiero, reigned. He believed himself rich and powerful, for no other end than to do good, and to render others happy. He had no occasion to take precautions for the security of his life; he had always the surest guard about him, the love of his people; and Syracuse was afraid of nothing so much as of losing him. Hence he was lamented at his death, as the common father of his country. Not only their mouths but hearts were long after filled with his name, and incessantly blessed his memory. Hieronymus, on the contrary, who had no other rule of conduct but violence, regarded all other men as born solely for himself, and valued himself upon governing them, not as subjects but slaves, led the wretchedest life in the world, if to live were to pass his days in continual apprehension and terror. As he trusted nobody, nobody placed any confidence in him. Those who were nearest his person were the most exposed to his suspicions and cruelty, and thought they had no other security for their own lives, than by putting an end to his. Thus ended a reign of short duration, but abounding with disorders, injustice, and oppression.

[r] Appius, who foresaw the consequence of his death, gave the senate advice of all that had passed, and took the necessary precautions to preserve that part of Sicily which belonged to the Romans. They, on their side, perceiving the war in Sicily was likely to become important, sent Marcellus thither, who had been appointed consul with Fabius, in the beginning of the fifth year of the second Punic war, and had distinguished himself gloriously by his successes against Hannibal.

When Hieronymus was killed, the soldiers, less out of affection for him, than a certain natural respect for their kings, had thoughts at first of avenging his death upon the conspirators. But the grateful name of the liberty with which they were flattered, and the hope that was given them of the division of the tyrant's treasures amongst them, and of additional pay, with the recital of his horrid crimes and shameful excesses, altogether appeased their first heat, and changed their disposition in such a manner, that they left the prince's body without interment, for whom they had just before expressed so warm a regret.

As soon as the death of Hieronymus was known at Syracuse, Andranadorus seized the Isle, which was part of the city, with the citadel, and such other places as were most proper for his defence in it; putting good garrisons into them. Theodotus and Sosis, heads of the conspiracy, having left their accomplices with the army, to keep the soldiers quiet, arrived soon after at the city. They made themselves masters of the quarter Achradina, where, by shewing the tyrant's bloody robe, with his diadem, to the people, and exhorting them to take arms for the defence of their liberty, they soon saw themselves at the head of a numerous body.

The whole city was in confusion. The next day at sunrise, all the people, armed and unarmed, ran to the quarter Achradina, where the senate was assembled, which had neither sat, nor been consulted upon any affair, from Hiero's death. Polyænus, one of the senators, spoke to the people with great freedom and moderation. He represented, "That "having experienced the indignities and miseries of slavery, "they were most sensibly affected with them; but that as to the "evils occasioned by civil discord, they had rather heard them "spoken of by their fathers, than been acquainted with them "themselves: that he commended their readiness in taking "arms, and should praise them still more, if they did not pro-

r A. M. 3790. Ant. J. C. 214. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 21.—35.

" ceed to use them till the last extremity: that at present it was " his advice, to send deputies to Andranadorus, and to let him " know he must submit to the senate, open the gates of the " isle, and withdraw his garrisons: that if he persisted in his " usurpation, it would be necessary to treat him with more " rigour than Hieronymus had experienced."

This deputation at first made some impression upon him; whether he still retained a respect for the senate, and was moved with the unanimous concurrence of the citizens; or because the best-fortified part of the isle having been taken from him by treachery, and surrendered to the Syracusans, that loss gave him just apprehensions. But * his wife Demarata, Hiero's daughter, an haughty and ambitious princess, having taken him aside, put him in mind of the famous saying of Dionysius the tyrant, " That it was never proper to " quit the saddle, i. e. the tyranny, till pulled off the horse " by the heels: that a great fortune might be renounced in " a moment; but that it would cost abundance of time and " pains to attain it: that it was therefore necessary to endea- " vour to gain time; and whilst he amused the senate with " ambiguous answers, to treat privately with the soldiers at " Leontium, whom it was easy to bring over to his interest, " by the attraction of the king's treasures in his possession."

Andranadorus did not entirely reject this counsel, nor think proper to give into it without reserve. He chose a mean between both. He promised to submit to the senate, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity; and the next day, having thrown open the gates of the isle, repaired to the quarter Achradina; and there, after having excused his delay and resistance, from the fear he had been in of being involved in the tyrant's punishment, as his uncle, he declared, that he was come to put his person and interests into the hands of the senate. Then turning towards the tyrant's murderers, and addressing himself to Theodotus and Sosis; " You have done," said he, " a memorable action. But, believe me, your glory " is only begun, and has not yet attained the height of which " it is capable. If you do not take care to establish peace and " union amongst the citizens, the state is in great danger of " expiring, and of being destroyed at the very moment she be- " gins to taste the blessings of liberty."

After this discourse, he laid the keys of the isle and of the

* Sed evocatum eum ab legatis Demarata uxor, filia Hieronis, inflata adhuc regiis animis ac muliebri spiritu, admonet sæpe usurpatæ Dionysii tyranni vocis; quæ pedibus tractum, non insidentem equo, relinquere tyrannidem dixerit debere.

king's treasures at their feet. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occasion, and the temples were thronged during the rest of the day with infinite numbers of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for so happy a change of affairs.

The next day the senate being assembled, according to the ancient custom, magistrates were appointed, amongst the principal of whom Andranadorus was elected, with Theodotus and Sosis, and some others of the conspirators who were absent.

On the other side, Hippocrates and Epicydes, whom Hieronymus had sent at the head of two thousand men, to endeavour to excite troubles in the cities which continued to adhere to the Romans, seeing themselves, upon the news of the tyrant's death, abandoned by the soldiers under their command, returned to Syracuse, where they demanded to be escorted in safety to Hannibal, having no longer any business in Sicily after the death of him to whom they had been sent by that general. The Syracusans were not sorry to part with those two strangers, who were of a turbulent, factious disposition, and well experienced in military affairs. There is in most affairs a decisive moment, which never returns after having been once let slip. The negligence in assigning the time for their departure, gave them opportunity to insinuate themselves into the favour of the soldiers, who esteemed them upon account of their abilities, and to give them a disgust for the senate, and the better inclined part of the citizens.

Andranadorus, whose wife's ambition would never let him rest, and who till then had covered his designs with smooth dissimulation, believing it a proper time for disclosing them, conspired with Themistus, Gelon's son-in-law, to seize the sovereignty. He communicated his views to a comedian named Ariston, from whom he kept nothing secret. That profession was not at all dishonourable among the Greeks, and was exercised by persons of no ignoble condition. Ariston, believing it his duty, as it really was, to sacrifice his friend to his country, discovered the conspiracy. Andranadorus and Themistus were immediately slain by order of the other magistrates, as they entered the senate. The people rose, and threatened to revenge their death; but were deterred from it, by the sight of the dead bodies of the two conspirators, which were thrown out of the senate-house. They were then informed of their pernicious designs; to which all the misfortunes of Sicily were ascribed, rather than to the wickedness of Hieronymus, who being only a youth, had acted entirely

by their counsels. They insinuated, That his guardians and tutors had reigned in his name: that they ought to have been cut off before Hieronymus, or at least with him: that impunity had carried them on to commit new crimes, and to aspire to the tyranny; that not being able to succeed in their design by force, they had employed dissimulation and perfidy: that neither favours and honours had been able to overcome the wicked disposition of Andranadorus, nor the electing him one of the supreme magistrates amongst the deliverers of their country, him, who was the declared enemy of liberty; that as to the rest, they had been inspired with their ambition of reigning by the princesses of the blood-royal, whom they had married, the one Hiero's, the other Gelon's daughter.

At these words the whole assembly cried out, that not one of them ought to be suffered to live, and that it was necessary to extirpate entirely the race of the tyrants, without any reserve or exception. * Such is the nature of the multitude. It either abjectly abandons itself to slavery, or lords it with insolence. But with regard to liberty, which holds the mean betwixt those extremes, it neither knows how to be without it, or to use it; and has always too many flatterers ready to enter into its passions, inflame its rage, and hurry it on to excessive violences, and the most inhuman cruelties, to which it is but too much inclined of itself, as was the case at that time. At the request of the magistrates, which was almost sooner accepted than proposed, they decreed that the royal family should be entirely destroyed.

Demarata, Hiero's, and Harmonia, Gelon's daughter, the first married to Andranadorus, and the other to Themistus, were killed first. From thence they went to the house of Heraclea, wife of Zoippus, who having been sent on an embassy to Ptolemy king of Egypt, remained there in voluntary banishment, to avoid being witness of the miseries of his country. Having been apprised that they were coming to her, that unfortunate princess had taken refuge with her two daughters in the most remote part of her house, near her household gods. When the assassins arrived there, with her hair loose and disordered, her face bathed in tears, and in a condition most proper to excite compassion, she conjured them, in a faultering voice interrupted with sighs, in the name of

* Hæc natura multitudinis est; aut servit humiliter, aut superbe dominatur; libertatem, quæ media est, nec spernere modice, nec habere sciunt. Et non ferme desunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad sanguinem et cædes irritant.—Liv.

Hiero her father, and Gelon her brother, "not to involve an "innocent princess in the guilt and misfortunes of Hieronymus." She represented to them, "That her husband's banishment had been to her the sole fruit of that reign: that "not having had any share in the fortunes and designs of her "sister Demarata, she ought to have none in her punishment. "Besides, what was there to fear either from her, in the forlorn condition and almost widowhood to which she was reduced, or from her daughters, unhappy orphans, without "credit or support? That if the royal family were become so "odious to Syracuse, that it could not bear the sight of them, "they might be banished to Alexandria, the wife to her husband, the daughters to their father." When she saw them inflexible to her remonstrances, forgetting herself, she implored them at least to save the lives of the princesses her daughters, both of an age to inspire the most inveterate and furious enemies with compassion; but her discourse made no impression upon the minds of those barbarians. Having torn her in a manner from the arms of her household gods, they stabbed her to death in the sight of her two daughters, and soon after cut their throats, already stained and covered with the blood of their mother. What was still more deplorable in their destiny was, that immediately after their death, an order of the people's came for sparing their lives.

From compassion, the people in a moment proceeded to rage and fury against those who had been so hasty in the execution, and had not left them time for reflection or repentance. They demanded that magistrates should be nominated in the room of Andranadorus and Themistus. They were a long time in suspence upon this choice. At length somebody in the crowd of the people happened to name Epicydes; another immediately mentioned Hippocrates. Those two persons were demanded with so much ardour by the multitude, which consisted of citizens and soldiers, that the senate could not prevent their being created.

The new magistrates did not immediately discover the design they had of reinstating Syracuse in the interests of Hannibal; but they had seen with pain the measures which had been taken before they were in office. For immediately after the re-establishment of liberty, ambassadors had been sent to Appius, to propose renewing the alliance broken by Hieronymus. He had referred them to Marcellus, who was lately arrived in Sicily with an authority superior to his own. Marcel-

lus, in his turn, sent deputies to the magistrates of Syracuse, to treat of peace.

Upon arriving there, they found the state of affairs much altered. Hippocrates and Epicydes, at first by secret practices, and afterwards by open complaints, had inspired every body with great aversion to the Romans; giving out, that designs were formed for putting Syracuse into their hands. The behaviour of Appius, who had approached the entrance of the port with his fleet, to encourage the party in the Roman interest, strengthened those suspicions and accusations so much, that the people ran tumultuously to prevent the Romans from landing, in case they should have that design.

In this trouble and confusion, it was thought proper to summon the assembly of the people. Opinions differed very much in it; and the heat of debates giving reason to fear some sedition, Apollonides, one of the principal senators, made a discourse very suitable to the conjuncture. He intimated, "That never city was nearer its destruction or preservation "than Syracuse actually was at that time: that if they all with "unanimous consent should join either the Romans or Carthaginians, their condition would be happy: that if they "were divided, the war would neither be more warm nor "more dangerous between the Romans and Carthaginians, "than between the Syracusans themselves against each other; "as both parties must necessarily have, within the circumference of their own walls, their own troops, armies, and "generals: that it was therefore absolutely requisite to make "their agreement and union amongst themselves their sole "care and application; and that to know which of the two "alliances was to be preferred, was now the most important "question: that for the rest, the authority of Hiero, in his "opinion, ought to carry it against that of Hieronymus; and "that the amity of the Romans, happily experienced for fifty "years together, seemed preferable to that of the Carthaginians, upon which they could not much rely for the present, and with which they had as little reason to be satisfied "with regard to the past. He added a last motive, of no "mean force, which was, that in declaring against the Romans, they would have the war immediately upon their "hands; whereas, on the side of Carthage, the danger was "more remote."

The less passionate this discourse appeared, the more effect it had. It induced them to desire the opinion of the several bodies of the state; and the principal officers of the troops,

as well natives as foreigners, were requested to confer together. The affair was long discussed with great warmth. At length, as it appeared that there was no present means for supporting the war against the Romans, a peace with them was resolved, and ambassadors sent to conclude it.

Some days after this resolution had been taken, the Leontines sent to demand aid of Syracuse, for the defence of their frontiers. This deputation seemed to come very seasonably for discharging the city of a turbulent unruly multitude, and removing their no less dangerous leaders. Four thousand men were ordered to march under the command of Hippocrates, of whom they were glad to be rid, and who was not sorry himself for the occasion they gave him to embroil affairs: for he no sooner arrived upon the frontier of the Roman province, than he plundered it, and cut in pieces a body of troops sent by Appius to its defence. Marcellus complained to the Syracusans of this act of hostility, and demanded that this stranger should be banished from Sicily, with his brother Epicydes; who having repaired about the same time to Leontium, had endeavoured to embroil the inhabitants with the people of Syracuse, by exhorting them to resume their liberty as well as the Syracusans. The city of the Leontines was dependent on Syracuse; but pretended at this time to throw off the yoke, and to act independently of the Syracusans, as an entirely free city. Hence, when the Syracusans sent to complain of the hostilities committed against the Romans, and to demand the expulsion of the two Carthaginian brothers, the Leontines replied, that they had not empowered the Syracusans to make peace for them with the Romans.

The deputies of Syracuse related to Marcellus this answer from the Leontines, who were no longer at the disposal of their city, and left him at liberty to declare war against them, without any infraction of the treaty made with them. He marched immediately to Leontium, and made himself master of it at the first attack. Hippocrates and Epicydes fled. All the deserters found in the place, to the number of two thousand, were put to the sword; but as soon as the city was taken, all the Leontines and other soldiers were spared, and even every thing taken from them was restored, except what was lost in the first tumult of a city carried by storm.

Eight thousand troops, sent by the magistrates of Syracuse to the aid of Marcellus, met a man on their march, who gave them a false account of what had passed at the taking of Le-

ontium; exaggerating with artful malice the cruelty of the Romans, who, he falsely affirmed, had put all the inhabitants to the sword, as well as the troops sent thither by the Syracusans.

This artful falsehood, which they swallowed without suspicion, inspired them with compassion for their companions. They expressed their indignation by their murmurs. Hippocrates and Epicydes, who were before well known to these troops, appeared at the very instant of this trouble and tumult, and put themselves under their protection, not having any other resource. They were received with joy and acclamations. The report soon reached the rear of the army, where the commanders Dinomenes and Sosis were. When they were informed of the cause of the tumult, they advanced hastily, blamed the soldiers for having received Hippocrates and Epicydes, the enemies of their country, and gave orders for their being seized and bound. The soldiers opposed this with great menaces; and the two generals sent expresses to Syracuse, to inform the senate of what had passed.

The army, however, continued its march towards Megara; and upon the way met a courier prepared by Hippocrates, who was charged with a letter, which seemed to be written by the magistrates of Syracuse to Marcellus. They praised him for the slaughter he had made at Leontium, and exhorted him to treat all the mercenary soldiers in the same manner, in order that Syracuse might at length be restored to its liberty. The reading of this forged letter enraged the mercenaries, of whom this body of troops was almost entirely composed. They were for falling upon the few Syracusans amongst them, but were prevented from that violence by Hippocrates and Epicydes; not from the motives of pity or humanity, but that they might not entirely lose their hopes of re-entering Syracuse. They sent a man thither, whom they had gained by bribes, who related the storming of Leontium, conformable to the first account. Those reports were favourably received by the multitude, who cried out that the gates should be shut against the Romans. Hippocrates and Epicydes arrived about the same time before the city, which they entered, partly by force, partly by the intelligence they had within it. They killed the magistrates, and took possession of the city. The next day the slaves were set at liberty, the prisoners made free, and Hippocrates and Epicydes elected into the highest offices, in a tumultuous assembly. Syracuse in this manner, after a short irradiation of liberty, sunk again into its former slavery.

SECTION II.

MARCELLUS BESIEGES SYRACUSE. THE DREADFUL MACHINES OF ARCHIMEDES. HE IS KILLED.

AFFAIRS being in this state [s], Marcellus thought proper to quit the country of the Leontines, and advance towards Syracuse. When he was near it, he sent deputies to let the inhabitants know that he came to restore liberty to the Syracusans, and not with intent to make war upon them. They were not permitted to enter the city. Hippocrates and Epicydes went out to meet them; and having heard their proposals, replied haughtily, that if the Romans intended to besiege their city, they should soon be made sensible of the difference between attacking Syracuse and attacking Leontium. Marcellus therefore determined to besiege the place by sea and land *: by land on the side of Hexapyla; and by sea, on that of the quarter Achradina, the walls of which were washed by the waves.

He gave Appius the command of the land forces, and reserved that of the fleet to himself. It consisted of sixty gallies of five benches of oars, which were full of soldiers, armed with bows, slings, and darts, to scour the walls. There were a great number of vessels, laden with all sorts of machines used in attacking places.

The Romans carrying on their attacks at two different places, Syracuse was in great consternation, and apprehended, that nothing could oppose so terrible a power, and such mighty efforts: and it had indeed been impossible to have resisted them, without the assistance of a single man, whose wonderful industry was every thing to the Syracusans: this was Archimedes. He had taken care to supply the walls with all things necessary to a good defence. As soon as his machines began to play on the land-side, they discharged upon the infantry all sorts of darts, and stones of enormous weight, which flew with so much noise, force, and rapidity, that nothing could oppose their shock. They beat down and dashed to pieces all before them, and occasioned a terrible disorder in the ranks of the besiegers.

[s] A. M. 3790. Ant. J. C. 214. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 33, 34. Plut. in Marcel. p. 305.—307. Polyb. l. viii. p. 515.—518.

* The description of Syracuse may be seen in Book VIII. Chap. 2. Sect. 1.

Marcellus succeeded no better on the side of the sea. Archimedes had disposed his machines in such a manner as to throw darts to any distance. Though the enemy lay far from the city, he reached them with his larger and more forcible balistæ and catapultæ. When they overshot their mark, he had smaller, proportioned to the distance; which put the Romans into such confusion as made them incapable of attempting any thing.

This was not the greatest danger. Archimedes had placed lofty and strong machines behind the walls, which suddenly letting fall vast beams, with an immense weight at the end of them, upon the ships, sunk them to the bottom. Besides this, he caused an iron grapple to be let out by a chain; the person who guided the machine, having catched hold of the head of a ship with his hook, by the means of a weight let down within the walls, it was lifted up, and set upon its stern, and held so for some time; then, by letting go the chain, either by a wheel or a pulley, it was let fall again with its whole weight either on its head or side, and often entirely sunk. At other times the machines, dragging the ship towards the shore by cords and hooks, after having made it whirl about a great while, dashed it to pieces against the points of the rocks which projected under the walls, and thereby destroyed all within it. Gallies frequently, seized and suspended in the air, were whirled about with rapidity, exhibiting a dreadful sight to the spectators; after which they were let fall into the sea, and sunk to the bottom, with all that were in them.

Marcellus had prepared, at great expence, machines called Sambucæ, from their resemblance to a musical instrument of that name. He appointed eight gallies of five benches for that use, from which the oars were removed; from the one on the right, and from the other on the left side. These were joined together, two and two, on the sides without oars. This machine consisted of a ladder of the breadth of four feet, which, when erect, was of equal height with the walls. It was laid at length upon the sides of two gallies joined together, and extended considerably beyond their beaks; upon the masts of these vessels were affixed cords and pullies. When it was to work, the cords were made fast to the extremity of the machine, and men upon the poop drew it up by the help of the pullies; others at the head assisted in raising it with levers. The gallies afterwards being thurst forward to the foot of the walls, the machines were applied to

them. The bridge of the sambucæ was then let down, no doubt after the manner of a draw-bridge, upon which the besiegers passed to the walls of the place besieged.

This machine had not the expected effect. Whilst it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes discharged a vast stone upon it that weighed ten * quintals, then a second, and immediately after a third; all which striking against it with dreadful force and noise, beat down and broke its supports, and gave the gallies upon which it stood such a shock, that they parted from each other.

Marcellus, almost discouraged, and at a loss what to do, retired as fast as possible with his gallies, and sent orders to his land-forces to do the same. He called also a council of war, in which it was resolved the next day, before sun-rise, to endeavour to approach the walls. They were in hopes by this means to shelter themselves from the machines, which for want of a distance proportioned to their force, would be rendered ineffectual.

But Archimedes had provided against all contingencies. He had prepared machines long before, as we have already observed, that carried to all distances a proportionate quantity of darts, and ends of beams, which being very short, required less time for preparing them, and in consequence were more frequently discharged. He had besides made small chasms or loop-holes in the wall at little distances, where he had placed † scorpions, which, not carrying far, wounded those who approached, without being perceived but by that effect.

When the Romans, according to their design, had gained the foot of the walls, and thought themselves very well covered, they found themselves exposed either so an infinity of darts, or overwhelmed with stones, which fell directly upon their heads; there being no part of the wall which did not continually pour that mortal hail upon them. This obliged them to retire. But they were no sooner removed than a new discharge of darts overtook them in their retreat; so that they lost great numbers of men, and almost all their gallies were disabled or beat to pieces, without being able to revenge their loss in the least upon their enemies: for Archimedes had planted most of his machines in security behind the walls;

* The quintal, which the Greeks called τάλαντον was of several kinds. The least weighed an hundred and twenty-five pounds; the largest more than twelve hundred.

† The scorpions were machines in the nature of cross-bows, which the ancients used in discharging darts and stones.

and the Romans, says Plutarch, repulsed by an infinity of wounds, without seeing the place or hand from which they came, seemed to fight in reality with the gods.

Marcellus, though as a loss what to do, and not knowing how to oppose the machines of Archimedes, could not however, forbear pleasantries upon them. "Shall we persist," said he to his workmen and engineers, "in making war "with this Briareus of a geometrician, who treats my gallies "and sambucæ so rudely? He infinitely exceeds the fabled "giants with their hundred hands, in his perpetual and sur-"prising discharges upon us." Marcellus had reason for referring to Archimedes only; for the Syracusans were really no more than members of the engines and machines of that great geometrician, who was himself the soul of all their powers and operations. All other arms were unemployed; for the city at that time made use of none, either defensive or offensive, but those of Archimedes.

Marcellus at length, perceiving the Romans so much intimidated, that if they saw upon the walls only a small cord, or the least piece of wood, they would immediately fly, crying out, that Archimedes was going to discharge some dreadful machine upon them, he renounced his hopes of being able to make a breach in the place, gave over his attacks, and turned the siege into a blockade. The Romans conceived they had no other resource than to reduce the great number of people in the city by famine, in cutting off all provisions that might be brought to them either by sea or land. During the eight months in which they besieged the city, there were no kinds of stratagem which they did not invent, nor any actions of valour left untried, almost to the assault, which they never dared to attempt more. So much force, upon some occasions, have a single man, and a single science, when rightly applied. Deprive Syracuse of only one old man, the great strength of the Roman arms must inevitably take the city; his sole presence arrests and disconcerts all their designs.

We here see, which I cannot repeat too often, how much interest princes have in protecting arts, favouring the learned, encouraging academies of science by honourable distinctions and actual rewards, which never ruin or impoverish a state. I say nothing in this place of the birth and nobility of Archimedes; he was not indebted to them for the happiness of his genius, and profound knowledge: I consider him only as a learned man, and an excellent geometrician. What a loss had Syracuse sustained, if to have saved a small expence and

pension, such a man had been abandoned to inaction and obsurity! Hiero was far from such a conduct. He knew all the value of our geometrician; and it is no vulgar merit in a prince, to understand that of other men. He placed it in honour; he made it useful; and did not stay till occasion or necessity obliged him to do so; which would have been too late. By a wise foresight, the true character of a great prince and a great minister, in the very * arms of peace, he provided all that was necessary for supporting a siege, and making war with success; though at that time there was no appearance of any thing to be apprehended from the Romans, with whom Syracuse was allied in the strictest manner. Hence were seen to arise in an instant, as out of the earth, an incredible number of machines of every kind and size, the very sight of which was sufficient to strike armies with terror and confusion.

There is, amongst these machines, of which we can scarce conceive the effects, what might tempt us to call their reality in question, if it were allowable to doubt the evidence of writers, such, for instance, as Polybius, an almost contemporary author, who treated of facts entirely recent, and such as were well known to all the world. But how can we refuse our consent to the united authority of Greek and Roman historians, in regard to circumstances of which whole armies were witnesses in experiencing the effects, and which had so great an influence in the events of the war? What passed in this siege of Syracuse shews how high the ancients had carried their genius and art in besieging and supporting sieges. Our artillery, which so perfectly imitates thunder, has not more effect than the engines of Archimedes, if they have so much.

A burning glass is spoken of, by the means of which Archimedes is said to have burnt part of the Roman fleet. That must have been an extraordinary invention; but as no ancient author mentions it, it is no doubt a modern tradition without any foundation. Burning-glasses were known to antiquity, but not of that kind, which indeed seemed impracticable.

† After Marcellus had resolved to confine himself to the blockade of Syracuse, he left Appius before the place with two thirds of the army, advanced with the other into the island, and brought over some cities to the Roman interest.

† A. M. 3791. Ant. J. C. 213. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 35, 36.

* In pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello.——HORAT.
And wise in peace, prepared the arms of war.

At the same time Himilcon, general of the Carthaginians, arrived in Sicily with a great army, in hopes of reconquering it, and expelling the Romans.

Hippocrates left Syracuse with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse to join him, and carry on the war in concert against Marcellus. Epicydes remained in the city, to command there during the blockade.

The fleets of the two states appeared at the same time on the coast of Sicily; but that of the Carthaginians, seeing itself weaker than the other, was afraid to venture a battle, and soon sailed back to Carthage.

Marcellus had continued eight months before Syracuse, with Appius, according to Polybius, when the year of his consulship expired. Livy places the expedition of Marcellus in Sicily, and his victory over Hippocrates, in this year, which must have been the second year of the siege. And indeed, Livy has given us no account of this second year, because he had ascribed to the first what passed in the second; for it is highly improbable that nothing memorable happened in it. This is the conjecture of Mr Crevier, professor of rhetoric in the college of Beauvis, who published a new edition of Livy, with remarks, and with which I am convinced the public were well pleased. The first volume of this work contains a long preface, which is well worth the reading.

Marcellus therefore employed a great part of the second year of the siege in several expeditions into Sicily. In his return from Agrigentum, upon which he had made an effectual attempt, he came up with the army of Hippocrates, which he defeated, and killed above eight thousand men. This advantage kept those in their duty who had entertained thoughts of going over to the Carthaginians. After the gaining of this victory, he returned against Syracuse, and having dismissed Appius for Rome, who went thither to demand the consulship, he put Crispinus into his place.

[u] In the beginning of the third campaign Marcellus, almost absolutely despairing of being able to take Syracuse, either by force, because Archimedes continually opposed him with invincible obstacles, or famine, as the Carthaginian fleet, which was returned more numerous than before, easily threw in convoys, deliberated whether he should continue before Syracuse to push the siege, or turn his endeavours against Agrigentum.

u A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. Liv. l. xxv. n. 23.—31. Plut. in Marcel. p. 308, 309.

But before he came to a final determination, he thought it proper to try whether he could make himself master of Syracuse by some secret intelligence. There were many Syracusans in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. A slave of one of these secretly carried on an intrigue, in which fourscore of the principal persons of the city engaged, who came in companies to consult with him in his camp, concealed in barks under the nets of fishermen. The conspiracy was upon the point of taking effect, when a person named Attalus, in resentment for not having been admitted into it, discovered the whole to Epicydes, who put all the conspirators to death.

This enterprise having miscarried in this manner, Marcellus found himself in new difficulties. Nothing employed his thoughts but the grief and shame of raising a siege, after having consumed so much time, and sustained the loss of so many men and ships in it. An accident supplied him with a resource, and gave new life to his hopes. Some Roman vessels had taken one Damippus, whom Epicydes had sent to negociate with Philip king of Macedon. The Syracusans expressed a great desire to ransom this man, and Marcellus was not averse to it. A place near the port Trogilus was agreed on for the conferences concerning the ransom of the prisoner. As the deputies went thither several times, it came into a Roman soldier's thoughts to consider the wall with attention. After having counted the stones, and examined with his eye the measure of each of them, upon a calculation of the height of the wall, he found it to be much lower than it was believed, and concluded, that with ladders of a moderate size it might be easily scaled. Without loss of time, he related the whole to Marcellus. The general is not always the only wise man in an army: a private soldier may sometimes furnish him with important hints. Marcellus did not neglect this advice, and assured himself of its reality with his own eyes. Having caused ladders to be prepared, he took the opportunity of a festival, that the Syracusans celebrated for three days in honour of Diana, during which the inhabitants gave themselves up entirely to rejoicing and good cheer. At the time of night when he conceived that the Syracusans, after their debauch, began to grow drowsy and fall asleep, he made a thousand chosen troops, in profound silence, advance with their ladders to the wall. When they first got to the top without noise or tumult, the others followed, encouraged by the boldness and success of their leaders. These thousand soldiers, taking the

advantage of the enemy's stillness, who were either drunk or asleep, soon scaled the wall. Having thrown down the great gate of Hexapylum, they took the quarter of the city called Epipolis.

It was then no longer time to deceive, but terrify the enemy. The Syracusans, awakened by the noise, began to rouse, and to prepare for action. Marcellus made all his trumpets sound together, which so frightened and alarmed them, that all the inhabitants fled, believing every quarter of the city in the possession of the enemy. The strongest and best part, however, called Achradina, was not yet taken, because separated by its walls from the rest of the city.

Marcellus at day-break entered * Villanova, or the new city, by the quarter called Tycha. Epicydes, having immediately drawn up some troops, which he had in the isle adjoining to Achradina, marched against Marcellus; but finding him stronger and better attended than he expected, after a slight skirmish, he shut himself up in the quarter Achradina.

All the captains and officers with Marcellus congratulated him upon this extraordinary success. For himself, when he had considered from an eminence the loftiness, beauty, and extent of that city, he is said to have shed tears, and to have deplored the unhappy condition it was upon the point of experiencing. He called to mind the two powerful Athenian fleets which had been sunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces, with the illustrious generals who commanded them: the many wars sustained with so much valour against the Carthaginians: the many famous tyrants and potent kings, Hiero particularly, whose memory was still recent, who had signalized himself by so many royal virtues, and still more by the important services he had rendered the Roman people, whose interests had always been as dear to him as his own. Moved by that reflection, he believed it incumbent upon him, before he attacked Achradina, to send to the besieged, to exhort them to surrender voluntarily, and prevent the ruin of their city. His remonstrances and exhortations had no effect.

To prevent interruption by his rear, he then attacked a fort called Euryalus, which lay at the bottom of the new town, and commanded the whole country on the land side. After having carried it, he turned all his efforts against Achradina.

* The new city, or Neapolis, was called Epipolis; and in the latter times had been taken into the city, and surrounded with walls.

During these transactions, Hippocrates and Himilcon arrived. The first, with the Sicilians, having placed and fortified his camp near the great gate, and giving the signal to those who were in possession of Achradina, attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Crispinus commanded; Epicydes at the same time made a sally upon the posts of Marcellus. Neither of these enterprises was successful. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him as far as his entrenchments, and Marcellus obliged Epicydes to shut himself up in Achradina. As it was the autumn, there happened a plague, which killed great numbers in the city, and still more in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. The distemper was not excessive at first, and proceeded only from the bad air and season; but afterwards the communication with the infected, and even the care taken of them, dispersed the contagion; from whence it happened, that some, neglected and absolutely abandoned, died of the violence of the malady, and others received help, which became fatal to those who brought it. Death, and the sight of such as were buried, continually presented a mournful object to the eyes of those who were living. Nothing was heard, night and day, but groans and lamentations. At length, the being accustomed to the evil had hardened their hearts to such a degree, and so far extinguished all sense of compassion in them, that they not only ceased to grieve for the dead, but left them without interment. Nothing was to be seen every where but dead bodies, exposed to the view of those who expected the same fate. The Carthaginians suffered much more from it than the others. As they had no place to retire to, they almost all perished, with their generals Hippocrates and Himilcon. Marcellus, from the breaking out of the disease, had brought his soldiers into the city, where the roofs and shade were of great relief to them: he lost, however, no inconsiderable number of men.

Bomilcar, notwithstanding, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, and had made a second voyage to Carthage to bring back a new supply, returned with an hundred and thirty ships, and seven hundred transports. He was prevented by contrary winds from doubling the cape of Pachynus. Epicydes, who was afraid that if those winds continued this fleet might be discouraged and return to Africa, left Achradina to the care of the generals of the mercenary troops, and went to Bomilcar, whom he persuaded to try the event of a naval battle. Marcellus, seeing the troops of the Sicilians increased every day, and that if he stayed, and suffered himself to be shut up

in Syracuse, he should be very much pressed at the same time both by sea and land, resolved, though not strong in ships, to oppose the passage of the Carthaginian fleet. As soon as the high winds abated, Bomilcar stood to sea in order to double the cape; but when he saw the Roman ships advance towards him in good order, on a sudden, for what reason it is not said, he took to flight, sent orders to the transports to regain Africa, and retired to Tarentum. Epicydes, who had been disappointed in such great hopes, and was apprehensive of returning into a city already half taken, made sail for Agrigentum, rather with design to wait the event of the siege in that place, than to make any new attempt from thence.

When it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had quitted Syracuse, and the Carthaginians Sicily, they sent deputies to Marcellus, after having sounded the dispositions of the besieged, to treat upon the conditions Syracuse should surrender. It was agreed with unanimity enough on both sides, that what had appertained to the kings should appertain to the Romans; that the Sicilians should retain all the rest, with their laws and liberty. After these preliminaries, they demanded a conference with those Epicydes had charged with the government in his absence. They told them they had been sent by the army to Marcellus, and the inhabitants of Syracuse, in order that all the Sicilians, as well within as without the city, might have the same fate, and that no separate convention might be made. Having been permitted to enter the city, and to confer with their friends and relations, after having informed them of what they had already agreed with Marcellus, and giving them assurances that their lives would be safe, they persuaded them to begin, by removing the three governors Epicydes had left in his place; which was immediately put in execution.

After which, having assembled the people, they represented, "That for whatever miseries they had suffered till then, "or should suffer from thenceforth, they ought not to accuse "fortune, as it depended upon themselves alone to put an "end to them: that if the Romans had undertaken the "siege of Syracuse, it was out of affection, not enmity, to the "Syracusans: that it was not till after they had been ap-"prised of the oppressions they suffered from Hippocrates "and Epicydes, those ambitious agents of Hannibal, and af-"terwards of Hieronymus, that they had taken arms and be-"gun the siege of the city, not to ruin it, but to destroy its "tyrants: that as Hippocrates was dead, Epicydes no longer

" in Syracuse, his lieutenants slain, and the Carthaginians " dispossessed of Sicily both by sea and land, what reason " could the Romans now have for not inclining as much to " preserve Syracuse, as if Hiero, the sole example of faith to " them, were still alive? That neither the city nor the inhabi- " tants had any thing to fear but for themselves, if they let " slip the occasion of renewing their amity with the Romans: " that they never had so favourable an opportunity as the " present, when they were just delivered from the violent " government of their tyrants; and that the first use they " ought to make of their liberty, was to return to their duty."

This discourse was perfectly well received by every body. It was however judged proper to create new magistrates before the nomination of deputies; the latter of which were chosen out of the former. The deputy who spoke in their name, and who was instructed solely to use his utmost endeavours that Syracuse might not be destroyed, addressed himself to Marcellus to this effect: " It was not the people " of Syracuse who first broke the alliance, and declared war " against you, but Hieronymus, less criminal still to Rome " than to his country; and afterwards, when the peace was " restored by his death, it was not any Syracusans that in- " fringed it, but the tyrant's instruments, Hippocrates and " Epicydes. They were the enemies who made war against " you, after having made us slaves, either by violence, or " fraud and perfidy; and it cannot be said that we have any " times of liberty, that have not also been times of peace with " you. At present, as soon as we become masters of our- " selves, by the death of those who held Sicily in subjection, " we come the very instant to deliver up to you our arms, " our persons, our walls, and our city, determined not to " refuse any conditions you shall think fit to impose. For " the rest," continued he, addressing himself to Marcellus, " your interest is as much concerned as ours. The gods have " granted you the glory of having taken the finest and most " illustrious city possessed by the Greeks. All we have ever " achieved of memorable, either by sea or land, augments " and adorns your triumph. Fame is not a sufficiently faith- " ful chronicler to make known the greatness and strength " of the city you have taken; posterity can only judge of " them by its own eyes. It is necessary that we should show " to all travellers, from whatever part of the universe they " come, sometimes the trophies we have obtained from the " Athenians and Carthaginians, and sometimes those you " have acquired from us; and that Syracuse, thus placed

"for ever under the protection of Marcellus, may be a last-
"ing, an eternal monument of the valour and clemency of
"him who took and preserved it. It is unjust, that the re-
"membrance of Hieronymus should have more weight with
"you than that of Hiero. The latter was much longer your
"friend than the former your enemy. Permit me to say you
"have experienced the amity of Hiero; but the senseless
"enterprises of Hieronymus have fallen solely upon his own
"head."

The difficulty was not to obtain what they demanded from Marcellus, but to preserve tranquillity and union amongst those in the city. The deserters, convinced that they should be delivered up to the Romans, inspired the foreign soldiers with the same fear. Both the one and the other having therefore taken arms, whilst the deputies were still in the camp of Marcellus, they began by cutting the throats of the magistrates newly elected; and dispersing themselves on all sides, they put all to the sword they met, and plundered whatever fell in their way. That they might not be without leaders, they appointed six officers, three to command in Achradina, and three in the isle. The tumult being at length appeased, the foreign troops were informed from all hands, it was concluded with the Romans that their case should be entirely distinct from that of the deserters. At the same instant the deputies sent to Marcellus arrived, who fully undeceived them.

Amongst those who commanded in Syracuse, there was a Spaniard named Mercius; him means was found to corrupt. He gave up the gate near the fountain Arethusa, to soldiers sent by Marcellus in the night to take possession of it. At day-break the next morning, Marcellus made a false attack at Achradina, to draw all the forces of the citadel and the isle adjoining to it, to that side, and to facilitate the throwing some troops into the isle, which would be unguarded, by some vessels he had prepared. Every thing succeeded according to his plan. The soldiers, whom those vessels had landed in the isle, finding almost all the posts abandoned, and the gates by which the garrison of the citadel had marched out against Marcellus still open, they took possession of them after a slight encounter. Marcellus, having received advice that he was master of the isle, and of part of Achradina, and that Mercius, with the body under his command, had joined his troops, ordered a retreat to be sounded, that the treasures of the kings might not be plundered. They did not rise so high in their amount as was imagined.

The deserters having escaped, a passage being expressly left open for them, the Syracusans opened all their gates to Marcellus, and sent deputies to him, with instructions to demand nothing further from him than the preservation of the lives of themselves and their children. Marcellus having assembled his council, and some Syracusans who were in his camp, gave his answer to the deputies in their presence: "That Hiero, for fifty years, had not done the Roman peo- "ple more good, than those who have been masters of Sy- "racuse some years past had intended to do them harm; but "that their ill-will had fallen upon their own heads, and that "they had punished themselves for their violation of treaties "in a more severe manner than the Romans could have de- "sired: that he had besieged Syracuse during three years; "not that the Roman people might reduce it into slavery, "but to prevent the chiefs of the revolters from continuing "it under oppression: that he had undergone many fatigues "and dangers in so long a siege; but that he thought he had "made himself ample amends by the glory of having taken "that city, and the satisfaction of having saved it from the "entire ruin it seemed to deserve." After having placed a guard upon the treasury, and safe-guards in the houses of the Syracusans who had withdrawn into his camp, he abandoned the city to be plundered by his troops. It is reported, that the riches which were pillaged in Syracuse at this time, exceeded all that could have been expected at the taking of Carthage itself.

An unhappy accident interrupted the joy of Marcellus, and gave him a very sensible affliction. Archimedes, at a time when all things were in this confusion at Syracuse, shut up in his closet like a man of another world, who had no regard for what passed in this, was intent upon the study of some geometrical figure; and not only his eyes, but the whole faculties of his soul, were so engaged in this contemplation, that he had neither heard the tumult of the Romans, universally busy in plundering, nor the report of the city's being taken. A soldier on a sudden comes in upon him, and bids him follow him to Marcellus. Archimedes desired him to stay a moment, till he had solved his problem, and finished the demonstration of it. The soldier, who regarded neither his problem nor demonstration, enraged at this delay, drew his sword, and killed him. Marcellus was exceedingly afflicted when he heard the news of his death. Not being able to restore him to life, of which he would have been very glad, he

applied himself to honour his memory to the utmost of his power. He made a diligent search after all his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. As for Archimedes, he caused his funeral to be celebrated in the most solemn manner, and erected him a monument amongst the great persons who had distinguished themselves most at Syracuse.

ARTICLE III.

Abridgement of the History of Syracuse.

SECTION I.

TOMB OF ARCHIMEDES DISCOVERED BY CICERO.

Archimedes, by his will, had desired his relations and friends to put no other epitaph on his tomb, after his death, but a cylinder circumscribed by a sphere; that is to say, a globe or spherical figure; and to set down at the bottom the relation those two solids, the thing containing and the contained, have to each other. He might have filled up the bases o fthe columns of his tomb with relievos, wherein the whole history of the siege of Syracuse might have been carved, and himself appearing like another Jupiter thundering upon the Romans; but he set an infinitely higher value upon a discovery, a geometrical demonstration, than upon all the so-much celebrated machines of his invention.

Hence he chose rather to do himself honour with posterity, by the discovery he had made of the relation of a sphere to a cylinder of the same base and height, which is as two to three.

The Syracusans, who had been in former times so fond of the sciences, did not long retain the esteem and gratitude they owed a man who had done so much honour to their city. Less than one hundred and forty years after, Archimedes was so perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithstanding the great services he had done them, that they denied his having been buried at Syracuse. It is from Cicero we have this circumstance.

[a] At a time he was quæstor in Sicily, his curiosity induced him to make a search after the tomb of Archimedes;

a Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 64, 66.

a curiosity that became a man of Cicero's genius, and which merits the imitation of all who travel. The Syracusans assured him that his search would be to no purpose, and that there was no such monument amongst them. Cicero pitied their ignorance, which only served to increase his desire of making that discovery. At length, after several fruitless attempts, he perceived, without the gate of the city facing Agrigentum, amongst a great number of tombs in that place, a pillar almost entirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those who have any taste for antiquities, may easily conceive the joy of Cicero upon this occasion. He cried out, "that he * found "what he looked for." The place was immediately ordered to be cleared, when they saw the inscription still legible, though part of the lines were obliterated by time: † so that, says Cicero, in concluding his account, the greatest city of Greece, and most flourishing of old in the studies of science, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man, born in a country it considered almost as barbarous, had not discovered for it the tomb of its citizen, so highly distinguished by force and penetration of mind.

We are obliged to Cicero for having left us this curious and elegant account: but we cannot easily pardon him the contemptuous manner in which he speaks at first of Archimedes. It is in the beginning, where, intending to compare the unhappy life of Dionysius the tyrant, with the felicity of one passed in sober virtue, and abounding with wisdom, he says ‡: "I will not compare the lives of a Plato or an Archi- "tas, persons of consummate learning and wisdom, with that "of Dionysius, the most horrid, the most miserable, and the "most detestible that can be imagined. I shall have recourse "to a man of his own city, A LITTLE OBSCURE PERSON, who "lived many years after him. I shall produce him from "his || dust, and bring him upon the stage with his rule and "compasses in his hand." Not to mention the birth of Archimedes, whose greatness was of a different class, the greatest geometrician of antiquity, whose sublime discoveries have

* Εὑρηκα, in verb. Archim.

† Ita nobilissima Græciæ civitas, quondam vero etiam doctissima, sui civis unius acutissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Arpinate didici.

‡ Non ergo jam cum hujus vita, qua tetrius, miserius, detestabilius excogitare nihil possum, Platonis aut Architæ vitam comparabo, doctorum hominum et plane sapientum. Ex eadem urbe HUMILEM HOMUNCIONEM a pulvere et radio excitabo, qui multis annis post fuit, Archimedem.

|| He means the dust used by the geometricians.

in all ages been the admiration of the learned, should Cicero have treated this man as little and obscure, as a common artificer employed in making machines! unless it be, perhaps, because the Romans, with whom a taste for geometry and such speculative sciences never gained much ground, esteemed nothing great but what related to government and policy.

" Orabunt causus melius, cœlique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento." VIRGIL. Æn. 6.

" Let others better mould the running mass
Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,
And soften into flesh a marble face;
Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,
And when the stars descend, and when they rise:
But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with awful sway
To rule mankind, and make the world obey;
Disposing peace and war thy own majestic way." DRYDEN.

[x] This is the Abbè Fraguier's reflection in the short dissertation he has left us upon this passage of Cicero.

SECTION II.

SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF SYRACUSE.

THE island of Sicily, with the greatest part of Italy, extending between the two seas, composed what is called Græcia Major, in opposition to Greece properly called, which had peopled all those countries by its colonies.

Syracuse was the most considerable city of Sicily, and one of the most powerful of all Greece. [y] It was founded by Architas the Corinthian, in the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad.

The two first ages of its history are very obscure, and therefore we are silent upon them. It does not begin to be known till after the reign of Gelon, and furnishes in the sequel many great events, for the space of more than two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of slavery under the tyrants, and liberty under a popular government; till Syracuse is at length subjected to the Romans, and makes part of their empire.

I have treated all these events, except the last, in the order of time. But as they are cut into different sections, and dispersed in different books, we thought proper to unite them

x Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, Vol. II. y A. M. 3295.

here in one point of view, that their series and connections might be the more evident, from their being shewn together and in general, and the places pointed out where they are treated with due extent.

[z] Gelon. The Carthaginians, in concert with Xerxes, having attacked the Greeks who inhabited Sicily, whilst that prince was employed in making an irruption into Greece; Gelon, who had made himself master of Syracuse, obtained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ. Hamilcar, their general, was killed in this battle. Historians speak differently of his death, which has occasioned my falling into a contradiction. For on one side I suppose, with * Diodorus Siculus, that he was killed by the Sicilians in the battle; and on the other I say, after Herodotus, that to avoid the shame of surviving his defeat, he threw himself into the pile, in which he had sacrificed human victims.

[a] Gelon, upon returning from his victory, repaired to the assembly without arms or guards, to give the people an account of his conduct. He was chosen king unanimously. He reigned five or six years, solely employed in the truly royal care of making his people happy. Book II. Part ii.—B. VII. Ch. ii. Sect. 1.

[b] Hiero I. Hiero, the eldest of Gelon's brothers, succeeded him. The beginning of his reign was worthy of great praise. Simonides and Pindar celebrated him in emulation of each other. The latter part of it did not answer the former. He reigned eleven years. Book VII. Ch. ii. Sect. 1. 3d division.

[c] Thrasibulus. Thrasibulus his brother succeeded him. He rendered himself odious to all his subjects, and by his vices and cruelty. They expelled him the throne and city, after a reign of one year. B. VII. Chap. ii. Sect. 1. 3d division.

TIMES OF LIBERTY.

[d] After his expulsion, Syracuse and all Sicily enjoyed their liberty for the space of almost sixty years.

An annual festival was instituted, to celebrate the day upon which their liberty was re-established.

z A. M. 3520. a A. M. 3525. b A. M. 3532. c A. M. 3543. d A. M. 3544.

* In the History of the Carthaginians.

SYRACUSE ATTACKED BY THE ATHENIANS.

[e] During this interval, the Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Alcibiades, turned their arms against Syracuse; this was in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. How fatal the event of this war was to the Athenians, may be seen, B. VII. Ch. iii. end of Sect. 6.

[f] Dionysius the elder. The reign of this prince is famous for its length of thirty-eight years; and still more for the extraordinary events with which it was attended. Book II. Part i. Ch. 1.—B. I. Part ii. Ch. 1.

[g] Dionysius the younger. Dionysius, son of the elder Dionysius, succeeded him. He contracts a particular intimacy with Plato, and has frequent conversations with him; who comes to his court at the request of Dion, the near relation of Dionysius. He did not long improve from the wise precepts of that philosopher, and soon abandoned himself to all the vices and excesses which attend tyranny.

[h] Besieged by Dion, he escapes from Sicily, and retires into Italy.

[i] Dion's excellent qualities. He is assassinated in his own house by Callippus.

[k] Thirteen months after the death of Dion, Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius the younger, expels Callippus, and establishes himself in Syracuse. During the two years of his reign, Sicily is agitated by great commotions.

[l] Dionysius the younger, taking advantage of these troubles, re-ascends the throne, ten years after having quitted it.

[m] At last, reduced by Timoleon, he retires to Corinth. Book II. Part iii. Ch. 1.—B. XI. Sect. 5.

TIMES OF LIBERTY.

[n] Timoleon restores liberty to Syracuse. He passes the rest of his life there in a glorious retirement, beloved and honoured by all the citizens and strangers. B. XI. Ch. ii. Sect. 6.

This interval of liberty was of no long duration.

[o] Agathocles. Agathocles, in a short time, makes himself tyrant of Syracuse. B. II. Part ii. Ch. 1. near the end.

e A. M. 3588. f A. M. 3958. g A. M. 3632.
h A. M. 3624. i A. M. 3646. k A. M. 3647. l A. M. 3654.
m A. M. 3657. n A. M. 3658. o A. M. 3695.

He commits unparalleled cruelties.

He forms one of the boldest designs related in history; carries the war into Africa; makes himself master of the strongest places, and ravages the whole country.

After various events, he perishes miserably. He reigned about twenty-eight years.

TIMES OF LIBERTY.

[p] SYRACUSE took new life again for some time, and tasted with joy the sweets of liberty.

But she suffered much from the Carthaginians, who disturbed her tranquillity by continual wars.

She called in Pyrrhus to her aid. The rapid success of his arms at first, gave him great hopes, which soon vanished. Pyrrhus, by a sudden retreat, plunged the Syracusans into new misfortunes. B. I. Part ii. Chap. 2. near the end. B. XVI. Sect. 7.

Hiero II. They were not happy and in tranquillity till the reign of Hiero II. which was very long, and almost always pacific.

Hieronymus. He scarce reigned one year. His death was followed with great troubles, and the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus.

After that period, what passed in Sicily, to its total reduction, is little remarkable. There were still some remains of war fomented in it by the partisans of tyranny, and the Carthaginians who supported them: but those wars had no consequence, and Rome was soon absolute mistress of all Sicily. Half the island had been a Roman province from the treaty which put an end to the first Punic war. By that treaty Sicily was divided into two parts; the one continued in the possession of the Romans, and the other under the government of Hiero; which last part, after the surrender of Syracuse, fell also into their hands.

SECTION III.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE GOVERNMENT AND CHARACTER OF THE SYRACUSANS, AND UPON ARCHIMEDES.

BY the taking of Syracuse all Sicily became a province of the Roman empire; but it was not treated as the Spaniards and

[p] A. M. 3713.

Carthaginians were afterwards, upon whom a certain tribute was imposed as the reward of the victors, and punishment of the vanquished,—" Quasi victoriæ præmium, ac pœna belli." Sicily, in submitting to the Roman people *, retained all her ancient rights and customs, and obeyed them upon the same conditions she had obeyed her kings. And she certainly well deserved that privilege and distinction. She † was the first of all the foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with the Romans; the first conquest their arms had the glory to make out of Italy; and the first country that had given them the grateful experience of commanding a foreign people. The greatest part of the Sicilian cities had expressed an unexampled attachment, fidelity, and affection for the Romans. The island was afterwards a kind of pass for their troops into Africa; and Rome would not so easily have reduced the formidable power of the Carthaginians, if Sicily had not served it as a magazine abounding with provisions, and a secure retreat for their fleets. Hence, after the taking and ruin of Carthage, Scipio Africanus thought himself obliged to adorn the cities of Sicily with a great number of excellent paintings and curious statues; in order that a people, who were so highly satisfied with the success of the Roman arms, might be sensible of its effects, and retain illustrious monuments of their victories amongst them.

Sicily would have been happy in being governed by the Romans, if they had always given her such magistrates as Cicero; knowing, like him, in the obligations of his functions, and, like him, intent upon the due discharge of it. It is highly pleasing to hear him explain himself upon this subject; which he does in his defence of Sicily against Verres.

After having invoked the gods as witnesses of the sincerity

* Siciliæ civitates sic in amicitiam receepimus, ut eodem jure essent, quo fuissent; eadem conditione populo R. parerent, qua suis antea paruissent.—Cic.

† Omnium nationum exteriarum princeps Sicilia se ad amicitiam fidemque populi R. applicuit; prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provincia est, appellata; prima docuit majores nostros, quam præclarum esset exteris gentibus imperare. Itaque majoribus nostris in Africam ex hac provincia gradus imperii factus est. Neque enim tam facile opes Carthaginis tantæ concidissent; nisi illud, et rei frumentariæ subsidium, et receptaculum classibus nostris pareret. Quare P. Africanus, Carthagine deleta, Siculorum urbes signis monumentisque pulcherrimis exornavit; ut, quos victoriæ populi R. lætari arbitrabatur, apud eos monumenta victoriæ plurima collocaret.—Cic. Ver. 3. n. 2, 3.

of what he was going to expose, he says: "In all * the em-
"ployments with which the Roman people have honoured
"me to this day, I have ever thought myself obliged, by the
"most sacred ties of religion, worthily to discharge the du-
"ties of them. When I was made quæstor, I looked upon
"that dignity, not as a gratuity conferred upon me for my
"particular use, but as a deposite confided to my vigilance
"and fidelity. When I was afterwards sent to act in that
"office, I thought all eyes were turned upon me, and that
"my person and administration were in a manner exhibited
"as a spectacle to the view of all the world; and in this
"thought I not only denied myself all pleasures of an extra-
"ordinary kind, but even those that are authorized by nature
"and necessity. I am now intended for Ædile. I call the
"gods to witness, that how honourable soever this dignity
"seems to me, I have too just a sense of its weight not to have
"more solicitude and disquiet than joy and pleasure from it;
"so much I desire to make it appear, that it was not bestow-
"ed on me by chance, or the necessity of being filled up, but
"confided deservedly by the choice and discernment of my
"country."

All the Roman governors were far from being of this character; and Sicily, above all other provinces, experienced, as Cicero † some lines after reproaches Verres, that they were almost all of them like so many tyrants, who believed themselves only attended by the fasces and axes, and invested with the authority of the Roman empire, to exercise in their province an open robbery of the public with impunity, and to

* O dii immortales ——— Ita mihi meam voluntatem spemque reliquæ vitæ vestræ populique R. existimatio comprobet, ut ego quos adhuc mihi magistratus populus R. mandavit, sic eos accepi, ut me omnium officiorum obstringi religione arbitrarer. Ita quæstor sum factus, ut mihi honorem illum non tam datum quam creditum ac commissum putarem. Sic obtinui quæsturam in provincia, ut omnium oculos in me unum conjectos arbitrarer: ut me quæsturamque meam quasi in aliquo orbis terræ theatro versari existimarem, ut omnia semper, quæ jucunda videntur esse, non modo his extraordinariis cupiditatibus, sed etiam ipsi naturæ ac necessitati denegarem. Nunc sum designatus Ædilis———Ita mihi deos omnes propitios esse velim, ut tametsi mihi jucundissimus est honos populi, tamen nequaquam tantum capio voluptatis, quantum solicitudinis et laboris, ut hæc ipsæ dilitas, non quia necesse fuit alicui candidato data, sed quia sic oportuerit recte collocata, et judicio populi digno in loco posita esse videatur.—Cic. Verr. 7. 35.—37.

† Nunquam tibi venit in mentem, non tibi idcirco fasces et secures, et tantam imperii vim, tantamque ornamentorum omnium dignitatem datam; ut earum rerum vi et auctoritate omnia repagula juris, pudoris, et officii perfringeres; ut omnium bona prædam tuam duceres; nullius res tuta, nullius domus clausa, nullius vita septa, nullius pudicitia munita, contra tuam cupiditatem et audaciam posset esse.—Cic. Ver. n. 39.

break through all the barriers of justice and shame in such a manner, that no man's estate, life, house, or even honour, were safe from their violence.

Syracuse, from all we have seen of it, ought to appear like a theatre, on which many different and surprising scenes have been exhibited; or rather like a sea, sometimes calm and untroubled, but oftener violently agitated by winds and storms, always ready to overwhelm it entirely. We have seen in no other republic, such sudden, frequent, violent, and various revolutions: sometimes enslaved by the most cruel tyrants; at others, under the government of the wisest kings: sometimes abandoned to the capricious will of a populace, without either government or restriction; sometimes perfectly docile and submissive to the authority of law and the empire of reason; it passed alternately from the most insupportable slavery to the most grateful liberty; from a kind of convulsions and frantic emotions, to a wise, peaceable, and regular conduct. The reader will easily call to mind, on the one side, Dionysius the father and son, Agathocles and Hieronymus, whose cruelties made them the objects of the public hatred and detestation; on the other, Gelon, Dion, Timoleon, and the two Hieros, ancient and modern, universally beloved and revered by the people.

To what are such opposite extremes, and vicissitudes so contrary, to be attributed? Undoubtedly, I think, the levity and inconstancy of the Syracusans, which was their distinguishing characteristic, had a great share in them: but what I am convinced conduced the most to them, was the very form of their government, compounded of the aristocratic and democratic, that is to say, divided between the senate or elders, and the people. As there was no counterpoise in Syracuse to support a right balance between those two bodies, when authority inclined either to the one side or the other, the government presently changed either into a violent and cruel tyranny, or an unbridled liberty, without order or regulation. The sudden confusion at such times of all orders of the state, made the way to the sovereign power easy to the most ambitious of the citizens: to attract the affection of their country, and soften the yoke to their fellow-citizens, some exercised that power with lenity, wisdom, equity, and popular behaviour; and others, by nature less virtuously inclined, carried it to the last excess of the most absolute and cruel despotism, under pretext of supporting themselves against the attempts of their ci-

tizens, who, jealous of their liberty, thought every means for the recovery of it legitimate and laudable.

There were besides other reasons that rendered the government of Syracuse difficult, and thereby made way for the frequent changes it underwent. That city did not forget the signal victories it had obtained against the formidable power of Africa, and that it had carried its victorious arms and terror even to the walls of Carthage; and that not once only, as afterwards against the Athenians, but during several ages. The high idea its fleets and numerous troops suggested of its maritime power, at the time of the irruption of the Persians into Greece, occasioned its pretending to equal Athens in that respect, or at least to divide the empire of the sea with that state.

Besides which, riches, the natural effect of commerce, had rendered the Syracusans proud, haughty, and imperious, and at the same time had plunged them into a sloth and luxury, that inspired them with a disgust for all fatigue and application. They generally abandoned themselves blindly to their orators, who had acquired an absolute ascendant over them. In order to make them obey, it was necessary either to flatter or reproach them.

They had naturally a fund of equity, humanity, and good nature; and yet, when influenced by the seditious discourses of the orators, they would proceed to excessive violence and cruelties, which they immediately after repented.

When they were left to themselves, their liberty, which at that time knew no bounds, soon degenerated into caprice, fury, violence, and I might say even phrenzy. On the contrary, when they were subjected to the yoke, they became base, timorous, submissive, and creeping like slaves. But as this condition was violent, and directly contrary to the character and disposition of the Greek nation, born and nurtured in liberty, the sense of which was not wholly extinguished in them, and only lulled asleep, they waked from time to time from their lethargy, broke their chains, and made use of them, if I may be admitted to use the expression, to beat down and destroy the unjust masters who had imposed them.

With a small attention to the whole series of the history of the Syracusans, it may easily be perceived, as Galba afterwards said of the Romans *, that they were equally incapable of

* Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem.—Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 16.

bearing either entire liberty or entire servitude: so that the ability and policy of those who governed them, consisted in keeping the people to a wise medium between those two extremes, by seeming to leave them an entire freedom in their resolutions, and reserving only to themselves the care of explaining the utility, and facilitating the execution of good measures; and in this the magistrates and kings we have spoken of were wonderfully successful, under whose government the Syracusans always enjoyed peace and tranquillity, were obedient to their princes, and perfectly submissive to the laws. And this induces me to conclude, that the revolutions of Syracuse were less the effect of the people's levity than the fault of those that governed them, who had not the art of managing their passions, and engaging their affection, which is properly the science of kings, and of all who command others.

BOOK TWENTY-SECOND.

THE HISTORY OF PONTUS.

PLAN.

This book includes the space of sixty years, which is three years more than the reign of Mithridates; from the year of the world 3880 to the year 3943.

SECTION I.

MITHRIDATES ASCENDS THE THRONE OF PONTUS. LIBRARY OF ATHENS CARRIED TO ROME.

Mithridates, king of Pontus, whose history we are now beginning, and who rendered himself so famous by the war he supported during almost thirty years against the Romans, was surnamed Eupater. He descended from a house which had given a long succession of kings to the kingdom of Pontus. The first, according to some historians, was Artabasus, one of the seven princes that slew the Magi, and set the crown of Persia upon the head of Darius Hystaspes, who rewarded him with the kingdom of Pontus. But, besides that we do not find the name of Artabasus amongst those Persians, many reasons induce us to believe, that the prince of whom we speak was the son of Darius, the same who is called Artabarzanes, who was competitor with Xerxes for the throne of Persia, and was made king of Pontus either by his father or his brother, to console him for the preference given to Xerxes. His posterity enjoyed that kingdom during seventeen generations. Mithridates Eupater, of whom we shall treat in this place, was the sixteenth from him.

[r] He was but twelve years of age when he began to reign. His father, before his death, had appointed him his successor, and had given him his mother for guardian, who was to govern jointly with him. [s] He began his reign by putting his

r A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124. s Memnon. in Excerptis Photii, c. 32.

mother and brother to death; and the sequel answered but too well to such a beginning of it. [t] Nothing is said of the first years of his reign, except that one of the Roman generals, whom he had corrupted with money, having surrendered, and put him into possession of Phrygia, it was soon after taken from him by the Romans, which gave birth to his enmity for them.

[u] Ariarathes king of Cappadocia being dead, Mithridates caused the two sons he had left behind him to be put to death, though their mother Laodice was his own sister, and placed one of his own sons, at that time very young, upon the throne, giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian and regent. Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who apprehended this increase of power would put Mithridates into a condition to possess himself also of his dominions in time, thought proper to set up a certain young man, who seemed very fit for such a part, as a third son of Ariarathes. He engaged Laodice, whom he had espoused after the death of her first husband, to acknowledge him as such; and sent her to Rome, to assist and support, by her presence, the claim of this pretended son, whom she carried thither along with her. The cause being brought before the senate, both parties were condemned, and a decree passed, by which the Cappadocians were declared free. But they said they would not be without a king. The senate permitted them to choose whom they thought fit. They elected Ariobarzanes, a nobleman of their nation. Sylla, upon his quitting the office of prætor, was charged with the commission of establishing him upon the throne. That was the pretext for this expedition; but the real motive of it was, to check the enterprises of Mithridates, whose power daily augmenting, gave umbrage to the Romans. [x] Sylla executed his commission the following year; and after having defeated a great number of Cappadocians, and a much greater of Armenians, who came to their aid, he expelled Gordius, with the pretended Ariarathes, and set Ariobarzanes in his place.

Whilst Sylla was encamped upon the banks of the Euphrates, a Persian, named Orobasus, arrived at his camp from king Arsaces *, to demand the alliance and amity of the Romans. Sylla received him at his audience, caused three seats to be placed in his tent; one for Ariobarzanes, who was pre-

t Appian. in Mithrid. p. 177, 178. u A. M. 2913. Ant. J. C. 91.
x A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90.
* This was Mithridates II.

sent; another for Orobasus; and that in the midst for himself. The Parthian king afterwards, offended at his deputy for having acquiesced in this instance of the Roman pride, caused him to be put to death. This is the first time the Parthians had any commerce with the Romans.

Mithridates did not dare at that time to oppose the establishment of Ariobarzanes; but dissembling the mortification that conduct of the Romans gave him, he resolved to take an opportunity of being revenged upon them. In the mean while he applied himself in cultivating good alliances for the augmentation of his strength, and began with Tigranes, king of Armenia, a very powerful prince. [y] Armenia had at first appertained to the Persians; it came under the Macedonians afterwards; and upon the death of Alexander, made part of the kingdom of Syria. Under Antiochus the Great, two of his generals, Artaxius and Zadriadres, with that prince's permission, established themselves in this province, of which it is probable they were before governors. After the defeat of Antiochus they adhered to the Romans, who acknowledged them as kings. They had divided Armenia into two parts. Tigranes, of whom we now speak, descended from Artaxius. He possessed himself of all Armenia, subjected several neighbouring countries by his arms, and thereby formed a very powerful kingdom. Mithridates gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and engaged him to enter so far into his project against the Romans, that they agreed Mithridates should have the cities and countries they should conquer for his share, and Tigranes the people, with all the effects capable of being carried away.

[z] The first enterprise and act of hostility was committed by Tigranes, who deprived Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, of which the Romans had put him into possession, and re-established Ariarathes the son of Mithridates in it. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, happened to die about this time: his eldest son, called also Nicomedes, ought naturally to have succeeded him, and was accordingly proclaimed king; but Mithridates set up his younger brother Socrates against him, who deprived him of the throne by force of arms. The two dethroned kings went to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who decreed their re-establishment, and sent Manius Aquilius and M. Altinius to put that decree in execution.

They were both reinstated. The Romans advised them

y Strab. l. 11. p. 531. 532. z A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89.

to make irruptions into the lands of Mithridates, promising them their support; but neither the one nor the other dared to attack so powerful a prince so near home. At length, however, Nicomedes, at the joint instances of the ambassadors, to whom he had promised great sums for his re-establishment, and of his creditors, Roman citizens settled in Asia, who had lent him very considerably for the same effects, could no longer resist their solicitations. He made incursions upon the lands of Mithridates, ravaged all the flat country as far as the city Amastris, and returned home laden with booty, which he applied in discharging part of his debts.

Mithridates was not ignorant by whose advice Nicomedes had committed this irruption. He might easily have repulsed him, having a great number of good troops on foot; but he did not take the field. He was glad to place the wrong on the side of the Romans, and to have a just cause for declaring war against them. He began by making remonstrances to their generals and ambassadors. Pelopidas was at the head of this embassy. He complained of the various contraventions of the Romans to the treaty of alliance subsisting between them and Mithridates, and in particular, of the protection granted by them to Nicomedes his declared enemy. The ambassadors of the latter replied with complaints on their side of Mithridates. The Romans, who were unwilling to declare themselves openly at present, gave them an answer in loose and general terms; that the Roman people had no intention that Mithridates and Nicomedes should injure each other.

Mithridates, who was not satisfied with this answer, made his troops march immediately into Cappadocia, expelled Ariobarzanes again, and set his son Ariarathes upon the throne, as he had done before. At the same time, he sent his ambassadors to the Roman generals to make his apology, and to complain of them again. Pelopidas declared to them, that his master was contented the Roman people should judge in the affair, and added, that he had already sent his ambassadors to Rome. He exhorted them not to undertake any thing, till they had received the senate's orders; nor engage rashly in a war that might be attended with fatal consequences. For the rest, he gave them to understand, that Mithridates, in case justice were refused him, was in a condition to right himself. The Romans, highly offended at so haughty a declaration, made answer, that Mithridates had orders immediately to withdraw his troops from Cappadocia, and not con-

tinue to disturb Nicomedes or Ariobarzanes. They ordered Pelopidas to quit the camp that moment, and not return, unless his master obeyed. The other ambassadors were no better received at Rome.

The rupture was then inevitable; and the Roman generals did not wait till the orders of the senate and people arrived; which was what Mithridates had demanded. The design he had long formed of declaring war against the Romans, had occasioned his having made many alliances, and engaged many nations in his interests. Twenty-two languages, of as many different people, were reckoned among his troops; all which Mithridates himself spoke with facility. His army consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand foot, and forty thousand horse; without including an hundred and thirty armed chariots, and a fleet of four hundred ships.

[z] Before he proceeded to action, he thought it necessary to prepare his troops for it, and made them a long * discourse, to animate them against the Romans. He represented to them, "That there was no room for examining whether war or "peace were to be preferred; that the Romans, by attacking "them first, had spared them that inquiry; that their busi- "ness was to fight and conquer; that he assured himself of "success, if the troops persisted to act with the same valour "they had already shewn upon so many occasions, and lately "against the same enemies, whom they had put to flight and "cut to pieces in Bithynia and Cappadocia; that there could "not be a more favourable opportunity than the present, "when the Marsi infested and ravaged the heart of Italy "itself; when Rome was torn in pieces by civil wars, and "an innumerable army of the Cimbri from Germany overran "all Italy; that the time was come for humbling those proud "Republicans, who had the same view with regard to the "royal dignity, and had sworn to pull down all the thrones "of the universe; that for the rest †, the war his sol-

z Justin. l. 38. c. 3.—7.

* I have abridged this discourse extremely, which Justin repeats at length, as it stood in Trogus Pompeius, of whom he is only the epitomizer. The discourse is a specimen of that excellent historian's style, and ought to make us very much regret the loss of his writings.

† Nunc se diversam belli conditionem ingredi. Nam neque cœlo Asiæ esse temperatius aliud, nec solo fertilius, nec urbium multitudine amænius; magnamque temporis partem, non ut militiam, sed ut festam diem, acturos, bello dubium facili magis an uberi—tantumque se avida expectat Asia, ut etiam vocibus vocet; adeo illis odium Romanorum incussit rapacitas proconsulum, sectio publicanorum, calumniæ litium.—Justin.———Sectio publicanorum, "in this passage, properly

"diers were now entering upon, was highly different from "that they had sustained with so much valour in the horrid "deserts and frozen regions of Scythia: that he should lead "them into the most fruitful and temperate country of the "world, abounding with rich and opulent cities, which seem-"ed to offer themselves an easy prey: that Asia, abandoned "to be devoured by the insatiable avarice of the proconsuls, "the inexorable cruelty of tax-farmers, and the crying in-"justice of corrupt judges, had the name of Roman in horror, "and impatiently expected them as her deliverers: that they "followed him not so much to a war, as to assured victory "and certain spoils." The army answered this discourse with universal shouts of joy, and reiterated protestations of service and fidelity.

The Romans had formed three armies out of their troops in the several parts of Asia Minor. The first was commanded by Cassius, who had the government of the province of Pergamus; the second by Manius Aquilius; the third by Q. Oppius, proconsul in the province of Pamphylia. Each of them had forty thousand men, including the cavalry. Besides these troops, Nicomedes had fifty thousand foot, and six thousand horse. They began the war, as I have already observed, without waiting orders from Rome, and carried it on with so much negligence, and so little conduct, that they were all three defeated on different occasions, and their armies ruined. Aquilius and Oppius themselves were taken prisoners, and treated with all kinds of insults. Mithridates, considering Aquilius as the principal author of the war, treated him with the highest indignities. He made him pass in review before the troops, and presented him as a sight to the people, mounted on an ass, obliging him to cry out with a loud voice, that he was Manius Aquilius. At other times he obliged him to walk on foot with his hands fastened by a chain to a horse, that drew him along. At last he made him swallow molten lead, and put him to death with the most exquisite torments. The people of Mitylene had treacherously delivered him up to Mithridates, at a time when he was sick, and had retired to their city for the recovery of his health.

[z] Mithridates, who was desirous of gaining the people's

"signifies the forcible sale of the goods of those, who, for default of payment of "taxes and imposts, had their estates and effects seized on and sold by the publi-"cans." Calumniæ litum, "are the unjust quirks and chicanery which served as "pretexts for depriving the rich of their estates, either upon account of taxes, or "under some other colour."

z Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 461. Athen. l. v. p. 213. Cic. Orat. pro Flacco, n. 60.

hearts by his reputation for clemency, sent home all the Greeks he had taken prisoners, and supplied them with provisions for their journey. That instance of his goodness and lenity opened the gates of all the cities to him. The people came out to meet him every where with acclamations of joy. They gave him excessive praises, called him the preserver, the father of the people, the deliverer of Asia, with all the other names ascribed to Bacchus, to which he had a just title, for he passed for the prince of his times, [a] who could drink most without being disordered; a quality he valued himself upon, and thought much to his honour.

The fruits of his first victories were the conquest of all Bithynia, from which Nicomedes was driven; of Phrygia and Mysia, lately made Roman provinces; of Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and several other countries.

Having found at Stratonicea a young maid of exquisite beauty, named Monima, he took her along with him in his train.

[b] Mithridates, considering that the Romans, and all the Italians in general, who were at that time in Asia Minor, upon different affairs, carried on secret intrigues much to the prejudice of his interests, he sent private orders from Ephesus, where he then was, to the governors of the provinces, and magistrates of the cities of Asia Minor, to massacre them all upon a day fixed *. The women, children, and domestics, were included in this proscription. To these orders was annexed a prohibition to give interment to those who should be killed. Their estates and effects were to be confiscated for the use of the king and the murderers. A severe fine was laid upon such as should conceal the living, or bury the dead; and a reward appointed for whoever discovered those that were hid. Liberty was given to the slaves who killed their masters; and debtors forgiven half their debts, for killing their creditors. The repetition only of this horrid order is enough to make one tremble with horror. What then must have been the desolation in all these provinces, when it was put in execution! Fourscore thousand Romans and Italians were butchered in consequence of it. Some make the slain amount to almost twice that number.

a Plut. Sympos. l. i. p. 624.

b A. M. 3916. Ant. J. C. 88. Appian. p. 185. Cic. in Orat. pro Lege Manil. n. 7.

* Is uno die, tota Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio, atque uno literarum significatione, cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit.—Cic.

[c] Being informed that there was a great treasure at Cos, he sent people thither to seize it. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, had deposited it there, when she undertook the war in Phœnicia, against her son Lathyrus. Besides this treasure, they found eight hundred talents, (eight hundred thousand crowns), which the Jews in Asia Minor had deposited there, when they saw the war ready to break out.

[d] All those who had found means to escape this general slaughter in Asia, had taken refuge at Rhodes, which received them with joy, and afforded them a secure retreat. Mithridates laid siege to that city ineffectually, which he was soon obliged to raise, after having been in danger of being taken himself in a sea-fight, wherein he lost many of his ships.

[e] When he had made himself master of Asia Minor, Mithridates sent Archelaus, one of his generals, with a army of an hundred and twenty thousand men, into Greece. That general took Athens, and chose it for his residence, giving all orders from thence, in regard to the war on that side. During his stay there, he engaged most of the cities and states of Greece in the interests of his master. He reduced Delos by force, which had revolted from the Athenians, and reinstated them in the possession of it. He sent them the sacred treasure, kept in that island by Aristion, to whom he gave two thousand men as a guard for the money. Aristion was an Athenian philosopher, of the sect of Epicurus. He employed the two thousand men under his command to seize all authority at Athens, where he exercised a most cruel tyranny, putting many of the citizens to death, and sending many to Mithridates, upon pretence that they were of the Roman faction.

[f] Such was the state of affairs when Sylla was charged with the war against Mithridates. He set out immediately for Greece with five legions, and some cohorts and cavalry. Mithridates was at that time at Pergamus, where he distributed riches, governments, and other rewards to his friends.

Upon Sylla's arrival, all the cities opened their gates to him, except Athens, which, subjected to the tyrant Aristion's yoke, was obliged unwillingly to oppose him. The Roman general, having entered Attica, divided his troops into two bodies, the one of which he sent to besiege Aristion in the city of Athens, and with the other he marched in person to

c Appian. p. 186. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.
d Appian. p. 186.—188. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 402.
e Plut. in Sylla, p. 458.—461. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 188.—197.
f A. M. 3917. Ant. J. C. 87.

the port of Piræus, which was a kind of second city, where Archelaus had shut himself up, relying upon the strength of the place, the walls being almost sixty feet high, and entirely of hewn stone. The work was indeed very strong, and had been raised by the order of Pericles in the Peloponnesian war, when the hopes of victory depending solely upon this port, he had fortified it to the utmost of his power.

The height of the walls did not amaze Sylla. He employed all sorts of engines in battering it, and made continual assaults. If he would have waited a little, he might have taken the higher city without striking a blow, which was reduced by famine to the last extremity. But being in haste to return to Rome, and apprehending the changes that might happen there in his absence, he spared neither danger, attacks, nor expence, in order to hasten the conclusion of that war. Without enumerating the rest of the warlike stores and equipage, twenty thousand mules were perpetually employed in working the machines only. Wood happening to fall short, from the great consumption made of it in the machines, which were often either broke or spoiled by the vast weight they carried, or burnt by the enemy, he did not spare the sacred groves. He cut down the trees in the walks of the Academy and Lycæum, which were the finest and best planned in the suburbs, and caused the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demolished, in order to make use of the ruins in erecting his works, and carrying on his approaches.

As he had occasion for abundance of money in this war, and desired to attach the soldiers to his interests, and to animate them by great rewards, he had recourse to the inviolable treasures of the temples, and caused the finest and most precious gifts, consecrated at Epidaurus and Olympia, to be brought from thence. He wrote to the Amphictyons assembled at Delphos, "That they would act wisely in sending him "the treasures of the god, because they would be more secure "in his hands; and if he should be obliged to make use of "them, he would return the value after the war." At the same time he sent one of his friends, named Caphis, a native of Phocis, to Delphos, to receive all those treasures by weight.

When Caphis arrived at Delphos, he was afraid, out of reverence for the god, to meddle with the gifts consecrated to him, and wept, in the presence of the Amphictyons, the necessity imposed upon him. Upon which some person there having said, that he heard the sound of Apollo's lyre from the inside of the sanctuary, Caphis, whether he really believed it,

or was for taking that occasion to strike Sylla with a religious awe, he wrote him an account of what happened. Sylla, deriding his simplicity, replied, "That he was surprised he "should not comprehend, that singing was a sign of joy, and "by no means of anger and resentment; and therefore he "had nothing to do but to take the treasures boldly, and be "assured, that the god saw him do so with pleasure, and gave "them to him himself."

Plutarch, on this occasion, observes upon the difference between the ancient Roman generals, and those of the times we now speak of:—The former, whom merit alone had raised to office, and who had no views from employments but the public good, knew how to make the soldiers respect and obey them, without descending to use low and unworthy methods for that purpose. They commanded troops that were wise, disciplined, and well inured to execute the orders of their generals without reply or delay. Truly kings, says * Plutarch, in the grandeur and nobility of their sentiments, but simple and modest private persons in their train and equipage, they put the state to no other expence in the discharge of their offices than what was reasonable and necessary, conceiving it more shameful in a captain to flatter his soldiers than to fear his enemies. Things were much changed in the times we now speak of. The Roman generals, abandoned to insatiable ambition and luxury, were obliged to make themselves slaves to their soldiers, and to buy their services by gifts proportioned to their avidity, and often by the toleration and impunity of the greatest crimes.

Sylla, in consequence, was perpetually in extreme want of money to satisfy his troops, and then more than ever, for carrying on the siege he had engaged in; the success of which seemed to him of the highest importance, both as to his honour and safety. He was for depriving Mithridates of the only city he had left in Greece, and which, by preventing the Romans from passing into Asia, made all hopes of conquering that prince vain, and would oblige Sylla to return shamefully into Italy, where he would have found more terrible enemies in Marius and his faction. He was besides sensibly galled by the offensive raillery Aristion vented every day against himself and his wife Metella.

It is not easy to say whether the attack or defence were conducted with most vigour; for both sides behaved with in-

* Αὐτοί τε ταῖς ψυχαῖς βασιλικοὶ καὶ δαπαναῖς εὐτελεῖς ὄντες.

credible courage and resolution. The sallies were frequent, and attended with almost battles in form, in which the slaughter was great, and the loss generally not very unequal. The besieged would not have been in a condition to have made so vigorous a defence, if they had not received several considerable reinforcements by sea.

What hurt them most, was the secret treachery of two Athenian slaves that were in the Piræus. Those slaves, whether out of affection to the Roman party, or desirous of providing for their own safety in case the place were taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that passed within, and threw them with slings to the Romans; so that whatever wise measures Archelaus took, who defended the Piræus, whilst Aristion commanded in the city, nothing succeeded. He resolved to make a general sally: the traitors flung a leaden ball with this intelligence upon it: "To-morrow at such an hour, the foot "will attack your works, and the horse your camp." Sylla laid ambushes, and repulsed the besieged with loss. A convoy of provisions was in the night to have been thrown into the city, that was in want of all things. Upon advice of the same kind, the convoy was intercepted.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the Athenians defended themselves like lions. They found means either to burn most of the machines erected against the walls, or by undermining them, to throw them down and break them to pieces.

The Romans, on their side, behaved with no less vigour. By the help of mines also they made a way to the bottom of the walls, under which they hollowed the ground, and having propt the foundations with beams of wood, they afterwards set fire to the props with a great quantity of pitch, sulphur, and tow. When those beams were burned, part of the wall fell down with a horrible noise, and a large breach was opened, through which the Romans advanced to the assault. The battle continued a great while with equal ardour on both sides; but the Romans were at length obliged to retire. The next day they renewed the attack. The besieged had built a new wall during the night in the form of a crescent, in the place where the other had fallen; and the Romans found it impossible to force it.

Sylla, discouraged by so obstinate a defence, resolved to attack the Piræus no longer, and confined himself to reduce the place by famine. The city, on the other side, was at the last extremity. A bushel of barley had been sold in it for a thousand drachms, about five-and-twenty pounds Sterling;

The inhabitants did not only eat the grass and roots, which they found about the citadel, but the flesh of horses, and the leather of shoes, which they boiled soft. In the midst of the public misery, the tyrant passed his days and nights in debauch. The senators and priests went to throw themselves at his feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to obtain a capitulation from Sylla: he dispersed them with arrow-shot, and in that manner drove them from his presence.

He did not demand a cessation of arms, nor send deputies to Sylla, till reduced to the last extremity. As those deputies made no proposals, and asked nothing of him to the purpose, but ran on in praising and extolling Theseus, Eumolpus, and the exploits of the Athenians against the Medes, Sylla was tired with their discourse, and interrupted them by saying, "Gentlemen haranguers, you may go back again, and keep "your rhetorical flourishes to yourselves. For my part, I "was not sent to Athens to be informed of your ancient "prowess, but to chastise your modern revolt."

During the audience, some spies having entered the city, overheard by chance some old men talking of the quarter called * Ceramicus, and blaming the tyrant exceedingly for not guarding a certain part of the wall, that was the only place by which the enemy might easily scale the walls. At their return into the camp, they related what they heard to Sylla. The parley had been to no purpose. Sylla did not neglect the intelligence given him. The next night he went in person to take a view of the place; and finding the wall actually accessible, he ordered ladders to be raised against it, began the attack there, and having made himself master of the wall, after a weak resistance entered the city. He would not suffer it to be set on fire, but abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers, who, in several houses, found human flesh, which had been dressed to be eaten. A dreadful slaughter ensued. The next day all the slaves were sold by auction, and liberty was granted to the citizens who had escaped the swords of the soldiers, who were a very small number. He besieged the citadel the same day, where Aristion, and those who had taken refuge there, were soon so much reduced by famine, that they were forced to surrender themselves. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any office under him, were put to death.

Some few days after, Sylla made himself master of the

* The public place at Athens.

Piræus, and burned all its fortifications, especially the arsenal, which had been built by Philo the celebrated architect, and was a wonderful fabric. Archelaus, by the help of his fleet, had retired to Munichia, another port of Attica.

This year was fatal to the arms of Mithridates. Taxilus, one of his generals, arrived in Greece from Thrace and Macedonia, with an army of one hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with fourscore and ten chariots armed with scythes. Archelaus, that general's brother, was at that time in the port of Munichia, and would neither remove from the sea, nor come to a battle with the Romans; but he endeavoured to protract the war, and cut off their provisions. This was very wise conduct, for Sylla began to be in want of them; so that famine obliged him to quit Attica, and to enter the fruitful plains of Bœotia, where Hortensius joined him. Their troops being united, they took possession of a fertile eminence in the midst of the plains of Elatea, at the foot of which run a rivulet. When they had formed their camp, the enemies could discover at a view their small number, which amounted to only fifteen thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. This induced Archelaus's generals to press him in the warmest manner to proceed to action. They did not obtain his consent without great difficulty. They immediately began to move, and covered the whole plain with horses, chariots, and their innumerable troops: for when the two brothers were joined, their army was very formidable. The noise and cries of so many thousands of men preparing for battle, and the pomp and magnificence of their array, were equally terrible. The brightness of their armour, magnificently adorned with gold and silver, and the lively colours of the Median and Scythian coats of arms, mingled with the glitter of brass and steel, reflected a kind of rays, which, whilst they dazzled the sight, filled the soul with terror.

The Romans, seized with dread, kept close within their intrenchments. Sylla, not being able by his discourse and remonstrances to remove their fear, and not being willing to force them to fight in their present universal discouragement, was obliged to lie still, and suffer, though with great impatience, the bravadoes and insulting derision of the Barbarians. They conceived so great a contempt for him in consequence, that they neglected to observe any discipline. Few of them kept within their intrenchments; the rest, for the sake of plunder, dispersed in great troops, and removed considerably,

even several days journey, from the camp. They plundered and ruined some cities in the neighbourhood.

Sylla was in the last despair, when he saw the cities of the allies destroyed before his eyes, for want of power to make his army fight. He at last thought of a stratagem, which was to give the troops no repose, and to keep them incessantly at work in turning the little river Cephisus, which was near his camp, and in digging deep and large fossès, under pretence of their better security; but in effect, that when they should be tired of such great fatigues, they might prefer the hazard of a battle to the continuance of their labour. His stratagem was successful. After having worked without intermission three days, as Sylla, according to custom, was taking a view of their progress, they cried out to him with one voice, to lead them against the enemy. Sylla suffered himself to be exceedingly entreated, and did not comply for some time: but when he saw their ardour increase from this opposition, he made them stand to their arms, and marched against the enemy.

The battle was fought near Cheronæa. The enemy had possessed themselves, with a great body of troops, of a very advantageous post, called Thurium: it was the ridge of a steep mountain, which extended itself upon the left flank of the Romans, and was very proper to check their motions. Two men of Cheronæa came to Sylla, and promised him to drive the enemy from this post, if he would give them a small number of chosen troops; which he did. In the mean time he drew up his army in battle, divided his horse between the two wings, taking the right himself, and giving the left to Murena. Galba and Hortensius formed a second line. Hortensius, on the left of it, supported Murena; whilst Galba, on the right, did the same for Sylla. The Barbarians had already begun to extend their horse and light-armed foot, in a large compass, with design to surround the second line, and charge it in the rear.

At that instant the two men of Cheronæa, having gained the top of Thurium, with their small troop, without being perceived by the enemy, shewed themselves on a sudden. The Barbarians, surprised and terrified, immediately took to flight. Pressing against each other upon the declivity of the mountain, they ran precipitately down it before the enemy, who charged and pursued them down the hill with their swords at their backs; so that about three thousand men were killed upon the mountain. Of those that escaped, some fell into the hands of Murena, who had just before formed himself in

battle. Having marched against them, he intercepted, and made a great slaughter of them: the rest, who endeavoured to regain their camp, fell in upon the main body of their troops with so much precipitation, that they threw the whole army into terror and confusion, and made their generals lose much time in restoring order, which was one of the principal causes of their defeat.

Sylla, to take advantage of this disorder, marched against them with so much vigour, and passed the space between the two armies with such rapidity, that he prevented the effect of their chariots armed with scythes. The force of these chariots depended upon the length of their course, which gave impetuosity and violence to their motion; instead of which, a short space, that did not leave room for their career, rendered them useless and ineffectual. This the Barbarians experienced at this time. The first chariots came on so slowly, and with so little effect, that the Romans easily pushing them back, with great noise and loud laughter called for more, as was customary at Rome in the chariot-races of the Circus.

After those chariots were removed, the two armies came to blows. The Barbarians presented their long pikes, and kept close order with their bucklers joined, so that they could not be broken; and the Romans threw down their javelins, and, with sword in hand, removed the enemies pikes, in order to join and charge them with great fury. What increased their animosity, was the sight of fifteen thousand slaves, whom the king's generals had spirited from them by the promise of their liberty, and posted among them the heavy-armed foot. Those slaves had so much resolution and bravery, that they sustained the shock of the Roman foot without giving way. Their battle was so deep and so well closed, that the Romans could neither break nor move them, till the light-armed foot of the second line had put them into disorder, by the discharge of their arrows, and an hail of stones from their slings, which forced them to give ground.

Archelaus having made his right wing advance to surround the left of the Romans, Hortensius led on the troops under his command to take him in flank; which Archelaus seeing, he ordered two thousand horse to wheel about. Hortensius, upon the point of being overpowered by that great body of horse, retired by degrees towards the mountains, perceiving himself too far from the main body, and upon the point of being surrounded by the enemy. Sylla, with great part of his right wing that had not yet engaged, marched to his re-

lief. From the dust raised by those troops, Archelaus judged what they were, and leaving Hortensius, he turned about towards the place Sylla had quitted, in hopes he should find no difficulty in defeating the right wing without its general.

Taxilus at the same time led on his foot, armed with brazen shields *, against Murena; whilst each side raised great cries, which made the neighbouring hills resound. Sylla halted on that noise, not knowing well to which side he should hasten. At length, he thought it most expedient to return to his former post, and support his right wing. He therefore sent Hortensius to assist Murena with four cohorts; and taking the fifth with him, he flew to his right wing, which he found engaged in battle with Archelaus, neither side having the advantage. But as soon as he appeared, that wing, taking new courage from the presence of their general, opened their way through the troops of Archelaus, put them to flight, and pursued them vigorously for a considerable time.

After his great success, without losing a moment, he marched to the aid of Murena. Finding him also victorious, and that he had defeated Taxilus, he joined him in the pursuit of the vanquished. A great number of the Barbarians were killed in the plain, and a much greater cut to pieces in endeavouring to gain their camp; so that, of many thousand men, only ten thousand escaped, who fled to the city of Chalcis. Sylla wrote in his memoirs, that only fourteen of his men were missing, and that two of them returned the same evening.

g To celebrate so great a victory, he gave the Music-games at Thebes, and caused judges to come from the neighbouring Grecian cities to distribute the prizes; for he had an implacable aversion to the Thebans. He even deprived them of half their territory, which he consecrated to Apollo Pythius, and Jupiter Olympius; and decreed, that the money he had taken out of the temples of those gods should be repaid out of their revenues.

These games were no sooner over, than he received advice, that L. Valerius Flaccus of the adverse party, for at this time the divisions between Marius and Sylla were at the highest, had been elected consul, and had already crossed the Ionian sea with an army, in appearance against Mithridates, but in reality against himself. For this reason, he began his march to Thessaly, as with design to meet him. But being arrived

g A. M. 3919. Ant. J. C. 85.

* Calcuspides.

at the city of Militea *, news came to him from all sides, that all the places he had left in his rear were plundered by another of the king's armies, stronger and more numerous than the first: for Dorylaus was arrived at Chalcis with a great fleet, on board of which were eighty thousand men, the best equipped, the most warlike, and best disciplined of all Mithridates's troops, and thrown himself into Bœotia, and possessed himself of the whole country, in order to bring Sylla to a battle. Archelaus would have diverted him from that design, by giving him an exact account of the battle he had so lately lost; but his counsel and remonstrances had no effect. He soon knew, that the advice he had given him was highly reasonable and judicious.

He chose the plain of Orchomenus for the field of battle. Sylla caused fosses to be dug on each side of the plain, to deprive the enemy of the advantage of an open country, and to remove them towards the marshes. The Barbarians fell furiously on the workmen, dispersed them, and put to flight the troops that supported them. Sylla, seeing his army flying in this manner, quitted his horse immediately, and seizing one of his ensigns, he pushed forward towards the enemy through those that fled, crying to them, "For me, Romans, I think "it glorious to die here. But for you, when you shall be "asked where you abandoned your general, remember to say, "it was at Orchomenus." They could not suffer those reproaches, and returned to the charge with such fury, that they made Archelaus's troops turn their backs. The Barbarians came on again in better order than before, and were again repulsed with greater loss.

The next day at sun-rise, Sylla led back his troops towards the enemy's camp, to continue his trenches, and falling upon those who were detached to skirmish and drive away the workmen, he charged them so rudely, that he put them to flight. These threw the troops who had continued in the camp, into such terror, that they were afraid to stay to defend it. Sylla entered it pell-mell with those that fled, and made himself master of it. The marshes in a moment were dyed with blood, and the dike filled with dead bodies. The enemies, in different attacks, lost the greater part of their troops; Archelaus continued a great while hid in the marshes, and escaped at last to Chalcis.

The news of all these defeats threw Mithridates into great consternation. However, as that prince was by nature fruit-

* In Thessaly.

ful in resources, he did not lose courage, and applied himself to repair his losses by making new levies. But from the fear that his ill success might give birth to some revolt or conspiracy against his person, as had already happened, he took the bloody precautions of putting all he suspected to death, without sparing even his best friends.

[n] He was not more successful in Asia himself than his generals had been in Greece. Fimbria, who commanded a Roman army there, beat the remainder of his best troops. He pursued the vanquished as far as the gates of Pergamus, where Mithridates resided, and obliged him to quit that place himself, and retire to Pitane, a maritime place of Troas. Fimbria pursued him thither, and invested him by land. But as he had no fleet to do the same by sea, he sent to Lucullus, who cruised in the neighbouring seas with the Roman fleet, and represented to him, that he might acquire immortal glory by seizing the person of Mithridates, who could not escape him, and by putting an end to so important a war. Fimbria and Lucullus were of two different factions. The latter would not be concerned in the affairs of the other. So that Mithridates escaped by sea to Mitylene, and extricated himself out of the hands of the Romans. This fault cost them very dear, and is not extraordinary in states where misunderstandings subsist between the ministers and generals of the army, which make them neglect the public good, lest they should contribute to the glory of their rivals.

Lucullus afterwards beat Mithridates' fleet twice, and gained two great victories over him. This happy success was the more surprising, as it was not expected from Lucullus to distinguish himself by military exploits. He had passed his youth in the studies of the bar; and during his being quæstor in Asia, the province had always enjoyed peace. But so happy a genius as his did not want to be taught by experience, which is not to be acquired by lessons, and is generally the growth of many years. He supplied that defect in some measure, by employing the whole time of his journey, by land and sea, partly in asking questions of persons experienced in the art of war, and partly in instructing himself by the reading of history; so that he arrived in Asia a complete general, though he left Rome with only a moderate knowledge in the art of war *. Let our young warriors consider this

h Plut. in Syll. p. 466.—684. Id. in Lucul. p. 593. Appian. p. 204.—210.

* Ad Mithridaticum bellum missus a senatu, non modo opinionem vicit omnium quæ de virtute ejus erat, sed etiam gloriam superiorum. Idque eo fuit mirabilius,

with due attention, and observe in what manner the great form themselves.

Whilst Sylla was very successful in Greece, the faction that opposed him, and at that time engrossed all power at Rome, had declared him an enemy to the commonwealth. Cinna and Carbo treated the noblest and most considerable persons with every kind of cruelty and injustice. Most of these, to avoid this insupportable tyranny, had chosen to retire to Sylla's camp, as to a port of safety; so that in a small time Sylla had a little senate about him. His wife Metella, having escaped with great difficulty with her children, brought him an account, that his enemies had burned his house, and ruined his lands; and begged him to depart immediately to the relief of those who remained in Rome, and were upon the point of being made victims of the same fury.

Sylla was in the greatest perplexity. On the one side, the miserable condition to which his country was reduced, inclined him to march directly to its relief; on the other, he could not resolve to leave imperfect so great and important an affair as the war with Mithridates. Whilst he was under this cruel dilemma, a merchant came to him, to treat with him in secret from general Archelaus, and to make him some proposals of an accommodation. He was so exceedingly rejoiced when this man had explained his commission, that he made all possible haste to have a conference with that general.

They had an interview upon the banks of the sea, near the little city of Delium. Archelaus, who did not know how important it was to Sylla, to have it in his power to repass into Italy, proposed to him the uniting his interest with that of Mithridates; and added, that his master would supply him with money, troops, and ships, for a war against the faction of Cinna and Marius.

Sylla, without seeming offended at first with such proposals, exhorted him, on his side, to withdraw himself from the slavery in which he lived, under an imperious and cruel prince. He added, that he might take upon him the title of king in his government, and offered to have him declared the ally and friend of the Roman people, if he would deliver up

quod ab eo laus imperatoria non expectabatur, qui adolescentiam in forensi opera, quæstura diuturnum tempus, Murena bellum in Ponto gerente, in Asiæ pace consumpserat. Sed incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit indocilem usus disciplinam. Itaque, cum totum iter et navigationem consumpsisset, partim in percontando a peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis; in Asiam factus imperator venit, cum esset Roma profectus rei militaris rudis.—Cic. Academ. Quæst. l. iv. n. 2.

to him Mithridates's fleet under his command. Archelaus rejected that proposal with indignation, and even expressed to the Roman general, how much he thought himself injured by the supposition of his being capable of such a treason. Upon which Sylla, assuming the air of grandeur and dignity so natural to the Romans, said to him, "If, being only a "slave, and at best but an officer of a Barbarian king, "you look upon it as a baseness to quit the service of your "master, how dared you to propose the abandoning the in- "terests of the republic to such a Roman as me? Do you "imagine our condition and affairs to be equal? Have you "forgot my victories? Do you not remember that you are "the same Archelaus I have defeated in two battles, and "forced in the last to hide himself in the marshes of Orcho- "menus?"

Archelaus, confounded by so haughty an answer, sustained himself no longer in the sequel of the negotiation. Sylla got the ascendant entirely; and, dictating the law as victor, proposed the following conditions: "That Mithridates should "renounce Asia and Paphlagonia: that he should restore "Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes: "that he should pay the Romans two thousand talents, about "three hundred thousand pounds Sterling, for the expences "of the war, and seventy armed gallies, with their whole "equipage: and that Sylla, on his side, should secure to "Mithridates the rest of his dominions, and cause him to be "declared the friend and ally of the Roman people." Archelaus seemed to approve those conditions; and dispatched a courier immediately to communicate them to Mithridates. Sylla set out for the Hellespont, carrying Archelaus with him, whom he treated with great honours.

He received Mithridates's ambassadors at Larissa, who came to declare to him, that their master accepted and ratified all the other articles, but that he desired he would not deprive him of Paphlagonia; and that as to the seventy gallies, he could by no means comply with that article. Sylla, offended at this refusal, answered them in an angry tone, "What say "you? Would Mithridates keep possession of Paphlagonia; "and does he refuse me the gallies I demanded? I expected "to have seen him return me thanks upon his knees, for hav- "ing only left him the hand with which he butchered an "hundred thousand Romans. He will change his note "when I go over to Asia; though at present, in the midst of "his court at Pergamus, he meditates plans for a war he

"never saw." Such was the lofty style of Sylla, who gave Mithridates to understand at the same time, that he would not talk such language, had he been present at the past battles.

The ambassadors, terrified with this answer, made no reply. Archelaus endeavoured to soften Sylla, and promised him that Mithridates should consent to all the articles. He set out for that purpose; and Sylla, after having laid waste the country, returned into Macedonia.

[i] Archelaus, upon his return, joined him at the city of Philippi, and informed him, that Mithridates would accept the proposed conditions; but that he exceedingly desired to have a conference with him. What made him earnest for this interview, was his fear of Fimbria, who having killed Flaccus, of whom mention is made before, and put himself at the head of that consul's army, advanced by great marches against Mithridates; which determined that prince to make peace with Sylla. They had an interview at Dardania, a city of Troas. Mithridates had with him two hundred gallies, twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and a great number of chariots armed with scythes; and Sylla had only four cohorts, and two hundred horse in his company. When Mithridates advanced to meet him, and offered him his hand, Sylla asked him, whether he accepted the proposed conditions? As the king kept silence, Sylla continued, "Do you not know, "Mithridates, that it is for suppliants to speak, and for the "victorious to hear and be silent?" Upon this Mithridates began a long apology, endeavouring to ascribe the cause of the war partly to the gods, and partly to the Romans. Sylla interrupted him; and after having made a long detail of the violences and inhumanities he had committed, he demanded of him a second time, whether he would ratify the conditions Archelaus had laid before him. Mithridates, surprised at the haughtiness and steady air of the Roman general, having answered in the affirmative, Sylla then received his embraces; and afterwards presenting the kings Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes to him, he reconciled them to each other. Mithridates, after the delivery of the seventy gallies entirely equipped, and five hundred archers, re-embarked.

Sylla saw plainly, that this treaty of peace was highly disagreeable to his troops. They could not bear that a prince,

i A. M. 3920. Ant. J. C. 84.

who of all kings was the most mortal enemy to Rome, and who in one day had caused one hundred thousand Roman citizens dispersed in Asia to be put to the sword, should be treated with so much favour, and even honour, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans, almost still reeking with their blood. Sylla, to justify his conduct, gave them to understand, that if he had rejected his proposals of peace, Mithridates, on his refusal, would not have failed to treat with Fimbria; and that if those two enemies had joined their forces, they would have obliged him either to abandon his conquests, or hazard a battle against troops superior in number, under the command of two great captains, who in one day might have deprived him of the fruit of all his victories.

Thus ended the first war with Mithridates, which had lasted four years, and in which Sylla had destroyed more than an hundred and sixty thousand of the enemy; recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other provinces, of which Mithridates had possessed himself; and having deprived him of a great part of his fleet, obliged him to confine himself within the bounds of his hereditary dominions *. But what is most to be admired in Sylla, is, that during three years, whilst the factions of Marius and Cinna had enslaved Italy, he did not dissemble his intending to turn his arms against them, and yet continued the war he had begun, convinced that it was necessary to conquer the foreign enemy, before he reduced and punished those at home. He was also highly laudable for his constancy, in not hearkening to any proposals from Mithridates, who offered him considerable aid against his enemies, till that prince had accepted the conditions of peace he prescribed to him.

Some days after, Sylla began his march against Fimbria, who was encamped under the walls of Thyatira in Lydia, and having marked out a camp near his, he began his intrenchments. Fimbria's soldiers, who came unarmed, ran out to salute and embrace those of Sylla, and assisted them with great pleasure in forming their lines. Fimbria seeing this change in his troops, and fearing Sylla as an irreconcileable enemy, from whom he could expect no mercy, after

* Vix quidquam in Syllæ operibus clarius duxerim, quam quod, cum per triennium Cinnanæ Marianæ partes Italiam obsiderent, neque illaturum se bellum iis dissimulavit, nec quod erat in manibus omisit; existimavitque ante frangendum hostem, quam ulciscendum civem; repulsoque externo metu, ubi quod alienum esset vicisset, superaret quod erat domesticum.—Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 2.

having attempted in vain to get him assassinated, killed himself.

Sylla condemned Asia in general to pay twenty thousand talents *, and besides that, rifled particulars exceedingly, by abandoning their houses to the insolence and rapaciousness of his troops, whom he quartered upon them, and who lived at discretion as in conquered cities. For he gave orders that every host should pay each soldier quartered upon him four † drachms a-day, and entertain at table himself, and as many of his friends as he should think fit to invite; that each captain should have fifty ‡ drachms, and besides that, a robe for the house, and another when he went abroad.

[k] After having punished Asia, he set out from Ephesus with all his ships, and arrived the third day at Piræus. Having been initiated in the great mysteries, he took for his own use the library of Apellicon, in which were the works of Aristotle. That philosopher at his death had left his writings to Theophrastus, one of his most illustrious disciples. The latter had transferred them to Neleus of Scepsis, a city in the neighbourhood of Pergamus in Asia; after whose death those works fell into the hands of his heirs, ignorant persons, who kept them shut up in a chest. When the kings of Pergamus began to collect industriously all sorts of books for their library, as the city of Scepsis was in their dependance, those heirs, apprehending these works would be taken from them, thought proper to hide them in a vault under ground, where they remained almost an hundred and thirty years; till the heirs of Neleus's family, which after several generations were fallen into extreme poverty, brought them out to sell them to Apellicon, a rich Athenian, who sought every where after the most curious books for his library. As they were very much damaged by the length of time, and the damp place where they had lain, Apellicon had copies immediately taken of them, in which there were many chasms; because the originals were either rotten in many places, or worm-eaten and obliterated. Those blanks, words, and letters, were filled up as well as they could by conjecture, and that in some places with sufficient want of judgement. From hence arose the many difficulties in those works, which have

k Plut. in Syll. p. 468. Strab. l. xiii. p. 609. Athen. l. iii. p. 214. Laert. in Theop.

* About three millions Sterling.

† About two shillings.

‡ About five-and-twenty shillings.

ever since divided the learned world. Apellicon being dead some small time before Sylla's arrival at Athens, he seized upon his library, and with these works of Aristotle, which he found in it, enriched his own at Rome. A famous grammarian of those times, named Tyrannion, who lived then at Rome, having a great desire for these works of Aristotle, obtained permission from Sylla's librarian to take a copy of them. That copy was communicated to Andronicus the Rhodian, who afterwards imparted it to the public: the world is obliged to him for the works of that great philosopher.

SECTION II.

SECOND AND THIRD WARS WITH MITHRIDATES. TRAGICAL END OF HIS SISTERS AND WIVES.

Sylla[1], on setting out for Rome, had left the government of Asia to Murena, with the two legions that had served under Fimbria, to keep the province in obedience. This Murena is the father of him for whom Cicero made the fine oration which bears his name. His son at this time made his first campaign under him.

After Sylla's departure, Mithridates, being returned into Pontus, marched his army against the people of Colchis and the Bosphorus, who had revolted against him. They first demanded his son Mithridates for their king; and having obtained him, immediately returned to their duty. The king, imagining their conduct to proceed from his son's intrigues, took umbrage at it; and having caused him to come to him, he ordered him to be bound with chains of gold, and soon after put him to death. That son had done him great services in the war against Fimbria. We see here a new instance of the jealousy which the excessive love of power is apt to incite, and to what an height the prince who abandons himself to it, is capable of carrying his suspicions against his own blood; always ready to proceed to the most fatal extremities, and to sacrifice whatever is dearest to him to the slightest distrust. As for the inhabitants of the Bosphorus, he prepared a great fleet and a numerous army, which gave reason to believe his designs were against the Romans. He had not indeed restored all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, but reserved part of it in his own hands; and he began to suspect Arche-

1 A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83. Appian. p. 213.—216.

laus, as having engaged him in a peace equally shameful and disadvantageous.

When Archelaus perceived it, well knowing the master he had to deal with, he took refuge with Murena, and solicited him warmly to turn his arms against Mithridates. Murena, who passionately desired to obtain the honour of a triumph, suffered himself to be easily persuaded. He made an irruption into Cappadocia, and made himself master of Comana, the most powerful city of that kingdom. Mithridates sent ambassadors to him, to complain of his violating the treaty the Romans had made with him. Murena replied, that he knew of no treaty made with their master. There was in reality nothing reduced to writing on Sylla's part, the whole having passed by verbal agreement. In consequence he continued to ravage the country, and took up his winter-quarters in it. Mithridates sent ambassadors to Rome, to make his complaints to Sylla and the senate.

[m] There came a commissioner from Rome, but without a decree of the senate, who publicly ordered Murena not to molest the king of Pontus. But as they conferred together in private, this was looked upon as a mere collusion. And indeed Murena persisted in ravaging his country. Mithridates therefore took the field; and having passed the river Halys, gave Murena battle, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Phrygia with very great loss.

[n] Sylla, who had been appointed dictator, not being able to suffer any longer that Mithridates, contrary to the treaty he had granted him, should be disquieted, sent Gabinius to Murena, to order him in earnest to desist from making war with that prince, and to reconcile him with Ariobarzanes. He obeyed. Mithridates, having put one of his sons of only four years old into the hands of Ariobarzanes as an hostage, under that pretext retained the cities in which he had garrisons, promising no doubt to restore them in time. He then gave a feast, in which he proposed prizes for such as should excel the rest in drinking, eating, singing, and rallying; fit objects of emulation! Gabinius was the only one who did not think proper to enter these lists. Thus ended the second war with Mithridates, which lasted only three years. Murena, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph, to which his pretensions were but indifferent.

m A. M. 3922. Ant. J. C. 82. n A. M. 3923. Ant. J. C. 81.

[o] Mithridates at length restored Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, forced by Sylla, who died the same year. But he contrived a stratagem to deprive him entirely of it. Tigranes had lately built a great city in Armenia, which, from his own name, he called Tigranocerta. Mithridates persuaded his son-in-law to conquer Cappadocia, and to transport the inhabitants into the new city, and the other parts of his dominions, that were not well peopled. He did so; and took away three hundred thousand souls. From thenceforth, wherever he carried his victorious arms, he acted in the same manner, for the better peopling of his dominions.

[q] The extraordinary reputation of Sertorius, who had given the Romans terrible employment in Spain, made Mithridates conceive the thought of sending an embassy to him, in order to engage him to join forces against the common enemy. The flatterers, who compared him to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, insinuated, that the Romans, attacked at the same time on different sides, could never be able to oppose two such formidable powers, when the most able and experienced of generals should act in concert with the greatest of kings. He therefore sent ambassadors to Spain, with letters and instructions for treating with Sertorius, to whom they offered, in his name, a fleet and money to carry on the war, upon condition that he would suffer that prince to recover the provinces of Asia, which the necessity of his affairs had reduced him to abandon by the treaty he had made with Sylla.

As soon as those ambassadors arrived in Spain, and had opened their commission to Sertorius, he assembled his council, which he called the senate. They were unanimously of opinion, to accept that prince's offers with joy; and the rather, because so immediate and effective an aid, as the offered fleet and money, would cost him only a vain consent to an enterprise, which did not in any manner depend upon him to prevent. But Sertorius, with a truly Roman greatness of soul, protested, that he would never consent to any treaty injurious to the glory or interest of his country; and that he could desire no victory from his own enemies, that was not acquired by just and honourable methods. And having made Mithridates's ambassadors come into the assembly, he declared to them, that he would suffer their master to keep Bithynia and Cappadocia, which were accustomed to be governed by

o A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78.

p A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 76. Appian. p. 216, 217. Plut. in Sertor. p. 580, 581.

kings, and of which the Romans could pretend to no just right to dispose; but he would never consent he should have any footing in Asia Minor, which appertained to the republic, and which he had renounced by a solemn treaty.

When this answer was related to Mithridates, it struck him with amazement; and he is affirmed to have said to his friends, "What orders may we not expect from Sertorius, when he "shall sit in the senate in the midst of Rome, who, even now, "confined upon the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, dictates "bounds to our dominions, and declares war against us, if "we undertake any thing against Asia?" A treaty was however concluded and sworn between them to this effect: that Mithridates should have Bithynia and Cappadocia; that Sertorius should send him troops for that purpose, and one of his captains to command them; and that Mithridates, on his side, should pay Sertorius* three thousand talents down, and give him forty gallies.

The captain sent by Sertorius into Asia, was a banished senator of Rome, who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius, to whom Mithridates paid great honours: for, when Marius entered the cities, preceded by the fasces and axes, Mithridates followed him, well satisfied with the second place, and with only making the figure of a powerful, but inferior ally, in this proconsul's company. Such was at that time the Roman greatness, that the name alone of that potent republic obscured the splendour and power of the greatest kings. Mithridates, however, found his interest in this conduct. Marius, as authorised by the Roman people and senate, discharged most of the cities from paying the exorbitant taxes Sylla had imposed upon them; expressly declaring, that it was from Sertorius that they received, and to whom they were indebted for that favour. So moderate and politic a conduct opened the gates of the cities to him without the help of arms, and the name of Sertorius alone made more conquests than all the forces of Mithridates.

[q] Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died this year, and made the Roman people his heirs. His country became thereby, as I have observed elsewhere, a province of the Roman empire. Mithridates immediately formed a resolution to renew the war against them upon this occasion, and employed the greatest part of the year in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. He believed, that after the death

q A. M. 3929. Ant. J. C. 75. Appian. de Bello Mithrid. p. 175.

* About four hundred and fifty thousand pounds Sterling.

of Sylla, and during the troubles by which the republic was agitated, the conjuncture was favourable for re-entering upon the conquests he had given up.

[r] Instructed by his misfortunes and experience, he banished from his army all armour adorned with gold and jewels, which he began to consider as the allurement of the victor, and not as the strength of those who wore them. He caused swords to be forged after the Roman fashion, with solid and weighty bucklers; he collected horses rather well made, and broke, than magnificently adorned; assembled one hundred and twenty thousand foot, armed and disciplined like the Roman infantry, and sixteen thousand horse well equipped for service, besides one hundred chariots armed with long scythes, and drawn by four horses. He also fitted out a considerable number of gallies, which glittered no longer as before, with gilt pavilions, but were filled with all sorts of arms, offensive and defensive, and well provided with sums of money for the pay and subsistence of the troops.

Mithridates had begun by seizing Paphlagonia and Bithynia. The province of Asia, which found itself exhausted by the exactions of the Roman tax-farmers and usurers, to deliver themselves from their oppression, declared a second time for him. Such was the cause of the third Mithridatic war, which subsisted almost twelve years.

[s] The two consuls, Lucullus and Cotta, were sent against him, each of them with an army under him. Lucullus had Asia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, for his province; the other, Bithynia and Propontis.

Whilst Lucullus was employed in reforming the rapaciousness and violence of the farmers and usurers, and in reconciling the people of the countries through which he passed, by giving them good hopes for the time to come; Cotta, who was already arrived, thought he had a favourable opportunity, in the absence of his colleague, to signalize himself by some great exploit. He therefore prepared to give Mithridates battle. The more he was told that Lucullus approached, that he was already in Phrygia, and would soon arrive, the greater haste he made to fight; believing himself already assured of a triumph, and desirous of preventing his colleague from having any share in it; but he was beaten by sea and land. In the naval battle he lost sixty of his ships, with their whole complements; and in that by land he lost four thou-

r Plut. in Lucul. p. 469.
s A. M. 3930. Ant. J. C. 74.

sand of his best troops killed, and was obliged to shut himself up in the city of Chalcedon, with no hope of any other relief but what his colleague should think fit to give him. All the officers of his army, enraged at Cotta's rash and presumptuous conduct, endeavoured to persuade Lucullus to enter Pontus, which Mithridates had left without troops, and where he might assure himself of finding the people inclined to revolt. He answered generously, that he should always esteem it more glorious to preserve a Roman citizen, than to possess himself of the whole dominions of an enemy; and without resentment against his colleague, he marched to assist him, with all the success he could have hoped. This was the first action by which he distinguished himself, and which ought to do him more honour than the most splendid victories.

[t] Mithridates, encouraged by the double advantage he had gained, undertook the siege of Cyzicum, a city of Propontis, which strenuously supported the Roman party in this war. In making himself master of this place, he would have opened himself a passage from Bithynia into Asia Minor, which would have been very advantageous, in giving him an opportunity of carrying the war thither with all possible ease and security. It was for this reason he desired to take it. In order to succeed, he invested it by land with three hundred thousand men, divided in ten camps; and by sea with four hundred ships. Lucullus soon followed him thither, and began by seizing a post upon an eminence of the last importance to him, because it facilitated his receiving convoys, and gave him the means of cutting off the enemy's provisions. He had only thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. The superiority of the enemy in number, far from dismaying, encouraged him; for he was convinced, that so innumerable a multitude would soon be in want of provisions. Hence, in haranguing his troops, he promised them in a few days a victory that would not cost them a single drop of blood. It was in that he placed his glory; for the lives of his soldiers were dear to him.

The siege was long, and carried on with extreme vigour. Mithridates battered the place on all sides with innumerable machines. The defence was no less vigorous. The besieged did prodigies of valour, and employed all means that the most industrious capacity could invent, to repulse the enemy's attacks, either by burning their machines, or rendering them

t A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Plut. in Lucul. p. 497.—499. Appian. p. 219, 220.

useless by a thousand obstacles they opposed to them. What inspired them with so much courage, was their exceeding confidence in Lucullus, who had let them know, that if they continued to defend themselves with the same valour, the place would not be taken.

Lucullus was indeed so well posted, that without coming to a general action, which he always carefully avoided, he made Mithridates's army suffer infinitely, by intercepting his convoys, charging his foraging parties with advantage, and beating the detachments he sent out from time to time. In a word, he knew so well how to improve all occasions that offered, he weakened the army of the besiegers so much, and used such address in cutting off their provisions, having shut up all avenues by which they might be supplied, that he reduced them to extreme famine. The soldiers could find no other food but the herbage; and some went so far as to support themselves upon human flesh. [u] Mithridates *, who passed for the most artful captain of his times, in despair, that a general who could not have had so much experience, should so often put the change upon him by false marches and feigned movements, and had defeated him without drawing his sword, was at length obliged to raise the siege shamefully, after having spent almost two years before the place. He fled by sea, and his lieutenants retired with his army by land, to Nicomedia. Lucullus pursued them; and having come up with them near the Granicus, he killed twenty thousand of them upon the spot, and took an infinite number of prisoners. It was said, that in this war there perished almost three hundred thousand men, soldiers and servants, with other followers of the army.

After this new success, Lucullus returned to Cyzicum, entered the city; and after having enjoyed for some days the pleasure of having preserved it, and the honours consequential of that success, he made a swift tour upon the coasts of the Hellespont, to collect ships and form a fleet.

Mithridates, after having raised the siege of Cyzicum, repaired to Nicomedia, from whence he passed by sea into Pontus. He left part of his fleet, and ten thousand men of his best troops, in the Hellespont, under three of his most able ge-

u A. M. 3933. Ant. J. C. 71.

* Cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorum mœnia constitisset, eamque urbem sibi Mithridates Asiæ januam fore putavisset, qua effracta et revulsa, tota pateret provincia: perfecta ab Lucullo hæc sunt omnia, ut urbs fidelissimorum sociorum defenderetur, ut omnes copiæ regis diuturnitate obsidionis consumerentur.—Cic. in Orat. pro Mur. n. 33.

nerals. Lucullus, with the Roman fleet *, beat them twice; the first time at Tenedos, and the other at Lemnos, when the enemy thought of nothing less than making sail for Italy, and of alarming and plundering the coasts of Rome itself. He killed almost all their men in those two engagements; and in the last took M. Marius the Roman senator, whom Sertorius had sent from Spain to the aid of Mithridates. Lucullus ordered him to be put to death, because it was not consistent with the Roman dignity, that a senator of Rome should be led in triumph. One of the two others poisoned himself; and the third was reserved for the triumph. After having cleared the coasts by these two victories, Lucullus turned his arms towards the continent; reduced Bithynia first, then Paphlagonia; marched afterwards into Pontus, and carried the war into the heart of Mithridates's dominions.

He suffered at first so great a want of provisions in this expedition, that he was obliged to make thirty thousand Galatians follow the army, each with a quantity of wheat upon his shoulders. But upon his advancing into the country, and subjecting the cities and provinces, he found such abundance of all things, that an ox sold only for one drachm †, and a slave for no more than four.

Mithridates had suffered almost as much by the tempest in his passage on the Euxine sea, as in the campaign wherein he had been treated so roughly. He lost in it almost all the remainder of his fleet, and the troops he had brought thither for the defence of his ancient dominions. When Lucullus arrived, he was making new levies with the utmost expedition, to defend himself against that invasion which he had foreseen.

Lucullus, upon arriving in Pontus, without loss of time besieged Amisus and Eupatoria, two of the principal cities of the country, very near each other. The latter, which had been very lately built, was called Eupatoria, from the surname of Eupator, given to Mithridates: this place was his usual residence, and he designed to make it the capital of his dominions. Not contented with these two sieges at once, he sent a detachment of his army to form that of Themiscyra, upon the

* Ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornatam, quæ ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammato raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam.—Cic. pro Lege Manil. n. 21.

Quid? Illam pugnam navalem ad Tenedum, cum tanto concursu, acerrimis ducibus, hostium classis Italiam spe atque animis instata peterct, mediocri certaminc et parva dimicatione commissam arbitraris?—Id. pro Murena, n. 33.

† Tenpence.

river Thermodon, which place was not less considerable than the two others.

The officers of Lucullus's army complained, that their general amused himself too long in sieges which were not worth his trouble; and that in the mean time he gave Mithridates opportunity to augment his army, and gather strength. To which he answered in his justification: "That is directly what "I want. I act in this manner for no other purpose, in or- "der that our enemy may take new courage, and assemble so "numerous an army, as may embolden him to expect us in "the field, and fly no longer before us. Do you not observe, "that he has behind him immense solitudes and infinite de- "serts, in which it will be impossible for us either to come "up with or pursue him? Armenia is but a few days march "from these deserts. There Tigranes keeps his court, that "king of kings, whose power is so great, that he subdues "the Parthians, transports whole cities of Greeks into the "heart of Media, has made himself master of Syria and Pa- "lestine, exterminated the kings descended from Seleucus, "and carried their wives and daughters into captivity. This "powerful prince is the ally and son-in-law of Mithridates. "Do you think, when he has him in his palace as a suppli- "ant, that he will abandon him, and not make war against "us? Hence, in hastening to drive away Mithridates, we shall "be in great danger of drawing Tigranes upon our hands, "who has long sought pretexts for declaring against us, and "who can never find one more specious, legitimate, and ho- "nourable, than that of assisting his father-in-law, and a king "reduced to the last extremity. Why therefore should we "serve Mithridates against ourselves, or shew him to whom "he should have recourse for the means of supporting the "war with us, by pushing him against his will, and at a time, "perhaps, when he looks upon such a step as unworthy his va- "lour and greatness, into the arms and protection of Tigra- "nes? Is it not infinitely better, by giving him time to take "courage, and strengthen himself with his own forces, to "have only upon our hands the troops of Cholchis, the Tiba- "renians and Cappadocians, whom we have so often defeat- "ed, than to expose ourselves to have the additional force of "the Armenians and Medes to contend with?"

Whilst the Romans attacked the three places we have mentioned, Mithridates, who had already formed a new army, took the field very early in the spring. Lucullus left the command of the sieges of Amisus and Eupatoria to Murena,

the son of him we have spoken of before, whom Cicero represents in a very favourable light. * "He went into Asia, "a province abounding with riches and pleasures, where he "left behind him no traces either of avarice or luxury. He "behaved in such a manner in this important war, that he "did many great actions without the general, the general "none without him." Lucullus marched against Mithridates, who lay encamped in the plains of Cabriæ. The latter had the advantage in two actions, but was entirely defeated in the third, and obliged to fly without either servant or equerry to attend him, or a single horse of his stable. It was not till very late, that one of his eunuchs, seeing him on foot in the midst of the flying crowd, got from his horse and gave it him. The Romans were so near him, that they almost had him in their hands; and it was owing entirely to themselves that they did not take him. The avarice only of the soldiers lost them a prey, which they had pursued so long, through so many toils, dangers, and battles, and deprived Lucullus of the sole reward of all his victories. Mithridates, says † Cicero, artfully imitated the manner in which Medea escaped the pursuit of her father, in the same kingdom of Pontus. That princess is said to have cut the body of Absyrtus her brother in pieces, and to have scattered his limbs in the places through which her father pursued her; in order that his care in taking up those dispersed members, and the grief so sad a spectacle would give him, might stop the rapidity of his pursuit. Mithridates in like manner, as he fled, left upon the way a great quantity of gold, silver, and precious effects, which had either descended to him from his ancestors, or had been amassed by himself in the preceding wars: and whilst the soldiers employed themselves in gathering those treasures too attentively, the king escaped their hands. So that the father of Medea was stopped in his pursuit by sorrow, but the Romans by joy.

* Asiam istam resertam et eandem delicatam, sic obiit, ut in ea neque avaritiæ, neque luxuriæ vestigium reliquerit. Maximo in bello sic est versatus, ut hic multas res et magnas sine imperatore gesserit, nullam sine hoc imperator.—Cic. pro Murena, n. 20.

† Ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur: quam prædicant, in fuga, fratris sui membra in iis locis, qua se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa, mœrorque patris celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et a majoribus acceperat, et ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum regnum congesserat in Ponto, omnem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio mœror, hos lætitia retardavit.—Cic. de Leg. Manil. n. 22.

After this defeat of the enemy, Lucullus took the city of Cabriæ, with several other places and castles, in which he found great riches. He found also the prisons full of Greeks, and princes nearly related to the king, who were confined in them. As those unhappy persons had long given themselves over for dead, the liberty they received from Lucullus seemed less a deliverance than new life to them. In one of these castles, a sister of the king's, named Nyssa, was also taken, which was a great instance of her good fortune. For the other sisters of that prince, with his wives, who had been sent farther from the danger, and who believed themselves in safety and repose, all died miserably, Mithridates, on his flight, having sent them orders to die, by Bacchidas the eunuch.

Among the other sisters of the king were Roxana and Statira, both unmarried, and about forty years of age, with two of his wives, Berenice and Monima, both of Ionia. All Greece spoke much of the latter, whom they admired more for her wisdom than beauty, though exquisite. The king having fallen desperately in love with her, had forgot nothing that might incline her to favour his passion. He sent her at once fifteen thousand pieces of gold. She was always averse to him, and refused his presents, till he gave her the quality of wife and queen, and sent her the royal tiara or diadem, an essential ceremony in the marriage of the kings of those nations. Nor did she then comply without extreme regret, and in compliance with her family, dazzled with the splendour of a crown, and the power of Mithridates, who was at that time victorious, and at the height of his glory. From her marriage to the instant of which we are now speaking, that unfortunate princess had passed her life in continual sadness and affliction, lamenting her fatal beauty, that instead of a husband had given her a master, and of procuring her an honourable abode, and the endearments of conjugal society, had confined her in a close prison, under a guard of Barbarians; where, far removed from the delightful regions of Greece, she had only enjoyed a dream of the happiness with which she had been flattered, and had really lost that solid and essential good she possessed in her own beloved country.

When Bacchidas arrived, and had signified to the princesses the orders of Mithridates, which favoured them no further than to leave them at liberty to choose the kind of death they should think most gentle and immediate; Monima, taking the diadem from her head, tied it round her neck, and hung herself up by it. But that wreath not being strong enough, and

breaking, she cried out, "Ah! fatal trifle, you might at least "do me this mournful office." Then, throwing it away with indignation, she presented her neck to Bacchidas.

As for Berenice, she toop a cup of poison; and as she was going to drink, her mother, who was present, desired to share it with her. They accordingly drank both together. The half of that cup sufficed to carry off the mother, worn out and feeble with age; but was not enough to surmount the strength and youth of Berenice. That princess struggled long with death in the most violent agonies, till Bacchidas, tired with waiting the effects of the poison, ordered her to be strangled.

Of the two sisters, Roxana is said to have swallowed poison, venting a thousand reproaches and imprecations against Mithridates. Statira, on the contrary, was pleased with her brother, and thanked him, that being in so great danger for his own person, he had not forgot them, and had taken care to supply them with the means of dying free, and of withdrawing from the indignities their enemies might else have made them suffer.

Their deaths extremely afflicted Lucullus, who was of a gentle and humane disposition. He continued his march in pursuit of Mithridates: but having received advice, that he was four days journey before him, and had taken the route of Armenia, to retire to his son-in-law, he returned directly; and after having subjected some countries, and taken some cities in the neighbourhood, he sent Appius Clodius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates of him; and in the mean time returned against Amisus, which place was not yet taken. [x] Callimachus, who commanded in it, and was the most able engineer of his times, had alone prolonged the siege. When he saw that he could hold out no longer, he set fire to the city, and escaped in a ship that waited for him. Lucullus did his utmost to extinguish the flames, but in vain; and, to increase his concern, saw himself obliged to abandon the city to be plundered by the soldiers, from whom the place had as much to fear as from the flames themselves. His troops were insatiable for booty, and he not capable of restraining them. A rain that happened to fall preserved a great number of buildings; and Lucullus, before his departure, caused those which had been burned to be rebuilt. This city was an ancient colony of the Athenians. Such of the Athenians, during Aristion's being master of Athens, as desired to fly from

x A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

his tyranny, had retired thither, and enjoyed there the same rights and privileges with the natives.

Lucullus, when he left Amisus, directed his march towards the cities of Asia, which the avarice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-farmers held under the most dreadful oppression; insomuch that those poor people were obliged to sell their children of both sexes, and even set up to auction the paintings and statues consecrated to the gods. And when these would not suffice to pay the duties, taxes, and interest unpaid, they were given up without mercy to their creditors, and often exposed to such barbarous tortures, that slavery, in comparison with their miseries, seemed a kind of redress and tranquillity to them.

These immense debts of the province arose from the fine of twenty thousand * talents, which Sylla had imposed on it. They had already paid the sum twice over: but those insatiable usurers, by heaping interest upon interest, had run it up to † one hundred and twenty thousand talents; so that they still owed triple the sums they had already paid.

Tacitus ‡ had reason to say, that usury was one of the most ancient evils of the Roman commonwealth, and the most frequent cause of sedition; but at the time we now speak of, it was carried to an excess not easy to comprehend.

The interest of money amongst the Romans was paid every month, and was paid one per cent.: hence it was called Usuria Centesima, Unciarum Fœnus; because in reckoning the twelve months, twelve per cent. was paid; Uncia is the twelfth part of a whole.

[y] The || law of the twelve tables prohibited the raising interest to above twelve per cent. This law was revived by the two tribunes of the people, in the 396th year of Rome.

[z] Ten years after, interest was reduced to half that sum, in the 406th year of Rome; Semunciarum Fœnus.

[a] At length, in the 411th year of Rome, all interest was prohibited by decree: ne fœnerari liceret.

All these decrees were ineffectual. § Avarice was always

y Tacit. Annal. vi. c. 16. Liv. l. vii. n. 16.
z Liv. l. vii. n. 27. a Ibid. n. 42.

* About three millions Sterling.
† About eighteen millions Sterling.
‡ Sane vetus urbi fœnebre malum, et seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa.—Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16.
|| Nequis unciario fœnore amplius exerceto.
§ Multis plebis scitis obviam itam fraudibus: quæ toties repressæ, miras per artes rursum oriebantur.—Tacit. ibid.

too strong for the laws; and whatever regulations were made to suppress it, either in the time of the republic, or under the emperors, it always found means to elude them. Nor has it paid more regard to the laws of the church, which has never entered into any composition in this point, and severely condemns all usury, even the most moderate; because, God having forbid any, she never believed she had a right to permit it in the least. It is remarkable, that usury has always occasioned the ruin of the states where it has been tolerated; and it was this disorder which contributed very much to subvert the constitution of the Roman commonwealth, and gave birth to the greatest calamities in all the provinces of that empire.

Lucullus, at this time, applied himself in giving the province of Asia some relaxation, which he could only effect by putting a stop to the injustice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-farmers. The latter, finding themselves deprived by Lucullus of the immense gain they made, raised a great outcry, as if they had been excessively injured, and by the force of money animated many orators against him; particularly confiding in having most of those who governed the republic in their debt, which gave them a very extensive and almost unbounded influence. But Lucullus despised their clamours with a constancy the more admirable from its being very uncommon.

SECTION III.

LUCULLUS DECLARES WAR WITH TIGRANES. THE LATTER LOSES TWO BATTLES.

TIGRANES [a], to whom Lucullus had sent an ambassador, though of no great power in the beginning of his reign, had enlarged it so much by a series of successes, of which there are few examples, that he was commonly surnamed the "king of "kings." After having overthrown and almost ruined the family of the kings, successors of Seleucus the Great; after having very often humbled the pride of the Parthians, transported whole cities of Greeks into Media, conquered all Syria and Palestine, and given laws to the Arabians, called Scænites; he reigned with an authority respected by all the princes of Asia. The people paid him honours, after the manner of the East, even to adoration. His pride was inflamed and

a A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70. Plut. in Lucul. p. 504.—512. Memn. c. 48.—57. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 228.—232.

supported by the immense riches he possessed, by the excessive and the continual praise of his flatterers, and by a prosperity that had never known any interruption.

Appius Clodius was introduced to an audience of this prince, who appeared with all the splendour he could display, in order to give the ambassador an higher idea of the royal dignity; who, on his side, uniting the haughtiness of his disposition with that which particularly characterized his republic, perfectly supported the dignity of a Roman ambassador.

After having explained in a few words the subject of complaints which the Romans had against Mithridates, and that prince's breach of faith in breaking the peace, without so much as attempting to give any reason or colour for it, he told Tigranes, that he came to demand his being delivered up to him, as due by every sort of title to Lucullus's triumph: that he did not believe, as a friend to the Romans, which he had been till then, that he would make any difficulty in giving up Mithridates; and that, in case of his refusal, he was instructed to declare war against him.

That prince, who had never been contradicted, and who knew no other law nor rule but his will and pleasure, was extremely offended at this Roman freedom. But he was much more so with Lucullus's letter when it was delivered to him. The title of king only, which it gave him, did not satisfy him. He had assumed that of "king of kings," of which he was very fond, and had carried his pride in that respect so far as to cause himself to be served by crowned heads. He never appeared in public without having four kings attending him; two on foot, on each side of his horse, when he went abroad; at table, in his chamber, in short every where, he had always some of them to do the lowest offices for him; but especially when he gave audience to ambassadors, for at that time, to give strangers a greater idea of his glory and power, he made them all stand in two ranks, one on each side of his throne, where they appeared in the habit and posture of common slaves. A pride so full of absurdity offends all the world. One more refined shocks less, though much the same at bottom.

It is not surprising that a prince of this character should bear the manner in which Clodius spoke to him with impatience. It was the first free and sincere speech he had heard, during the five-and-twenty years he had governed his subjects, or rather tyrannized over them with excessive insolence,

He answered, that Mithridates was the father of Cleopatra his wife; that the union between them was of too strict a nature to admit of his delivering him up for the triumph of Lucullus; and that if the Romans were unjust enough to make war against him, he knew how to defend himself, and to make them repent it. To express his resentment by his answer, he directed it only to Lucullus, without adding the usual title of Imperator, or any others commonly given to the Roman generals.

Lucullus, when Clodius reported his commission, and that war had been declared against Tigranes, returned with the utmost diligence into Pontus to begin it. The enterprise seemed rash, and the terrible power of the king astonished all those who relied less upon the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general, than upon a multitude of soldiers. After having made himself master of Sinope, he gave that place its liberty, as he did also to Amisus, and made them both free and independent cities. [b] Cotta did not treat Heraclea, which he took after a long siege by treachery, in the same manner. He enriched himself out of its spoils, treated the inhabitants with excessive cruelty, and burned almost the whole city. On his return to Rome, he was at first well received by the senate, and honoured with the surname of Ponticus, upon account of taking that place; but soon after, when the Heracleans had laid their complaints before the senate, and represented, in a manner capable of moving the hardest hearts, the miseries Cotta's avarice and cruelty had made them suffer, the senate contented themselves with depriving him of the Latus Clavus, which was the robe worn by the senators; a punishment nowise proportioned to the crying excesses proved upon him.

Lucullus left Sornatius, one of his generals, in Pontus, with six thousand men, and marched with the rest, which amounted only to twelve thousand foot, and three hundred horse, through Cappadocia to the Euphrates. He passed that river in the midst of winter, and afterwards the Tigris, and came before Tigranocerta, which was at some small distance, to attack Tigranes in his capital, where he had lately arrived from Syria. Nobody dared speak to that prince of Lucullus and his march, after his cruel treatment of the person that brought him the first news of it, whom he put to death in reward for so important a service. He listened to nothing but

b Memn. c. li.—lxi.

the discourses of flatterers, who told him Lucullus must be a great captain, if he only dared wait for him at Ephesus, and did not betake himself to flight and abandon Asia, when he saw the many thousands of which his army was composed. So true it is, says Plutarch, that as all constitutions are not capable of bearing much wine, all minds are not suited to bearing great fortunes without loss of reason and infatuation.

Tigranes at first had not designed so much as to see or speak to Mithridates, though his father-in-law; but treated him with the utmost contempt and arrogance, kept him at a distance, and placed a guard over him as a prisoner of state, in marshy unwholesome places. [c] But after Clodius' embassy, he had ordered him to be brought to court with all possible honours and marks of respect. In a private conversation which they had together without witnesses, they cured themselves of their mutual suspicions, to the great misfortune of their friends, upon whom they cast all the blame.

In the number of those unfortunates was Metrodorus, of the city of Scepsis, a man of extraordinary merit, who had so much credit with the king, that he was called the king's father. That prince had sent him on an embassy to Tigranes, to desire aid against the Romans. When he had explained the occasion of his journey, Tigranes asked him, "And for "you, Metrodorus, what would you advise me to do in re- "gard to your master's demands?" Upon which Metrodorus replied, out of an excess of ill-timed sincerity: "As "an ambassador, I advise you to do what Mithridates de- "mands of you; but as your counsel, not to do it." This was a criminal prevarication, and a kind of treason. It cost him his life, when Mithridates had been apprised of it by Tigranes.

Lucullus continually advanced against that prince, and was already in a manner at the gates of his palace, without his either knowing or believing any thing of the matter; so much was he blinded by his presumption. Mithrobarzanes, one of his favourites, ventured to carry him that news. The reward he had for it was to be charged with a commission to go immediately with some troops, and bring Lucullus prisoner; as if the question had been only to arrest one of the king's subjects. The favourite, with the greatest part of the troops given him, lost their lives in endeavouring to execute that dangerous commission. This ill success opened the eyes of

[c] A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69.

Tigranes, and made him recover from his infatuation. Mithridates had been sent back into Pontus with ten thousand horse, to raise troops there, and to return and join Tigranes, in case Lucullus entered Armenia. For himself, he had chosen to continue at Tigranocerta, in order to give the necessary orders for raising troops throughout his whole dominions. After this check, he began to be afraid of Lucullus, quitted Tigranocerta, retired to mount Taurus, and gave orders for all his troops to repair thither to him.

Lucullus marched directly to Tigranocerta, took up his quarters around the place, and formed the siege of it. This city was full of all sorts of riches; the inhabitants of all orders and conditions having emulated each other in contributing to its embellishment and magnificence, in order to make their court to the king: for this reason, Lucullus pressed the siege with the utmost vigour; believing that Tigranes would never suffer it to be taken, and that he would come on in a transport of fury to offer him battle, and oblige him to raise the siege. And he was not mistaken in this conjecture. Mithridates sent every day couriers to Tigranes, and wrote him letters, to advise him in the strongest terms not to hazard a battle, and only to make use of his cavalry in cutting off Lucullus's provisions. Taxilus himself was sent by him with the same instructions, who, staying with him in his camp, made earnest instances to him every day, not to attack the Roman armies, as they were excellently disciplined, veteran soldiers, and almost invincible.

At first he hearkened to this advice with patience enough. But when his troops, consisting of a great number of different nations, were assembled, not only the king's feasts, but his councils, resounded with nothing but vain bravadoes, full of insolence, pride, and barbarian menaces. Taxilus was in danger of being killed, for having ventured to oppose the advice of those who were for a battle; and Mithridates himself was openly accused of opposing it only out of envy, to deprive his son-in-law of the glory of so great a success.

In this conceit Tigranes determined to wait no longer, lest Mithridates should arrive, and share with him in the honour of the victory. He therefore marched with all his forces, telling his friends, that he was only sorry on one account, and that was, his having to do with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals together. He measured his hopes of success by the number of his troops. He had about twenty thousand archers and slingers, fifty-five thousand horse, se-

venteen thousand of which were heavy-armed cavalry, one hundred and fifty thousand foot, divided into companies and battalions, besides workmen to clear the roads, build bridges, cleanse and turn the course of rivers, with other labourers necessary in armies, to the number of thirty-five thousand, who, drawn up in battle behind the combatants, made the army appear still more numerous, and augmented its force and his confidence.

When he had passed Mount Taurus, and all his troops appeared together in the plains, the sight alone of his army was sufficient to strike terror into the most daring enemy. Lucullus, always intrepid, divided his troops. He left Murena with six thousand foot before the place, and with all the rest of his infantry, consisting of twenty-four cohorts, which together did not amount to more than ten thousand or twelve thousand men, all his horse, and about one thousand archers and slingers, marched against Tigranes, and encamped in the plain, with a large river in his front.

This handful of men made Tigranes laugh, and supplied his flatterers with great matter for pleasantry. Some openly jested upon them; others, by way of diversion, drew lots for their spoils; and of all Tigranes's generals, and the kings in his army, there was not one who did not entreat him to give the charge of that affair to him alone, and content himself with being only a spectator of the action. Tigranes himself, to appear agreeable, and a fine rallier, used an expression, which has been much admired; "If they come as ambassa-
"dors, they are a great many; but if as enemies, very few." Thus the first day passed in jesting and raillery.

The next morning at sun-rise, Lucullus made his army march out of their intrenchments. That of the Barbarians was on the other side of the river towards the east; and the river ran in such a manner, that a little below it turned off to the left towards the west, where it was easily fordable. Lucullus, in leading his army to this ford, inclined also to the left, towards the lower part of the river, hastening his march. Tigranes, who saw him, believed he fled; and calling for Taxilus, told him with a contemptuous laugh,—"Do you see
"those invincible Roman legions? You see they can run a-
"way." Taxilus replied, "I wish your majesty's good for-
"tune may this day do a miracle in your favour; but the
"arms and march of those legions do not argue people run-
"ning away."

Taxilus was still speaking, when he saw the eagle of the first

legions move on a sudden to the right-about, by the command of Lucullus, followed by all the cohorts, in order to pass the river. Tigranes, recovering then with difficulty, like one that had been long drunk, cried out two or three times, "How! "are those people coming to us?" They came on so fast, that his numerous troops did not post themselves, nor draw up in battle, without abundance of disorder and confusion. Tigranes placed himself in the centre; gave the left wing to the king of the Adiabenians, and the right to the king of the Medes. The greatest part of the heavy-armed horse covered the front of the right wing.

As Lucullus was preparing to pass the river, some of his general officers advised him not to engage upon that day, because one of those unfortunate days which the Romans called black days; for it was the same upon which the army of Cepio * had been defeated in the battle with the Cimbri. Lucullus made them this answer, which afterwards became so famous; "And for me, I will make this an happy day for "the Romans." It was the sixth day of October, the day before the nones of October.

After having made that reply, and exhorted them not to be discouraged, he passed the river, and marched foremost against the enemy. He was armed with a steel cuirass, made in the form of scales, which glittered surprisingly, under which was his coat of arms bordered all around with a fringe. He carried his naked sword shining in his hand, to intimate to his troops, that it was necessary to join an enemy immediately, accustomed to fight only at a distance with their arrows; and to deprive them, by the swiftness and impetuosity of the attack, of the space required for the use of them.

Perceiving that the heavy-armed cavalry, upon whom the enemy very much relied, were drawn up at the foot of a little hill, of which the summit was flat and level, and the declivity of not above five hundred paces, neither much broken, nor very difficult, he saw at first view what use he had to make of it. He commanded his Thracian and Galatian horse to charge that body of the enemy's cavalry in flank, with orders only to turn aside their lances with their swords. For the principal, or rather whole force of those heavy-armed horse, consisted in their lances, which when they had not room to use, they could do nothing either against the enemy, or for themselves;

* The Greek text says, the army of Scipio, which Monsieur de Thou has justly corrected in the margin of his Plutarch, the army of Cepio.

their arms being so heavy, stiff, and cumbersome, that they could not turn themselves, and were almost immoveable.

Whilst his cavalry marched to execute his orders, he took two cohorts of foot, and went to gain the eminence. The infantry followed courageously, excited by the example of their general, whom they saw marching foremost on foot, and ascending the hill. When he was at the top, he shewed himself from the highest part of it; and seeing from thence the whole order of the enemy's battle, he cried out, "The vic-"tory is ours, fellow-soldiers, the victory is ours." At the same time, with his two cohorts he advanced against that heavy-armed cavalry, and ordered his troops not to make use of their pikes, but join those horse sword in hand, and strike upon their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed parts about them. But his soldiers had not so much trouble with them. That cavalry did not stay their coming on, but shamefully took to flight; and howling as they fled, fell with their heavy unwieldy horses into the ranks of their foot, without joining battle at all, or so much as making a single thrust with their lances. The slaughter did not begin until they began to fly, or rather to endeavour it; for they could not do so, being prevented by their own battalions, whose ranks were so close and deep, that they could not break their way through them. Tigranes, that king so lofty and brave in words, had taken to flight from the beginning, with a few followers; and seeing his son, the companion of his fortune, he took off his diadem, weeping, and giving it him, exhorted him to save himself, as well as he could, by another route. That young prince was afraid to put the diadem upon his head, which would have been a dangerous ornament at such a time, and gave it into the hands of one of the most faithful of his servants, who was taken a moment after, and carried to Lucullus.

It is said, that in this defeat more than an hundred thousand of the enemy's foot perished, and that very few of their horse escaped. On the side of the Romans, only five were killed, and an hundred wounded. They had never engaged in a pitched battle so great a number of enemies with so few troops; for the victors did not amount to the twentieth part of the vanquished. The greatest and most able Roman generals, who had seen most wars and battles, gave Lucullus particular praises, for having defeated two of the greatest and most powerful kings in the world, by two entirely different methods, delay and expedition; for, by protracting and spinning out the

war, he exhausted Mithridates when he was strongest and most formidable; and ruined Tigranes, by making haste, and not giving him time to look about him. It has been remarked, that few captains have known how, like him, to make slowness active, and haste sure.

It was this latter conduct that prevented Mithridates from being present in the battle. He imagined Lucullus would use the same precaution and protraction against Tigranes, as he had done against himself. So that he marched but slowly, and by small days journies, to join Tigranes. But having met some Armenians on the way, who fled with the utmost terror and consternation, he suspected what had happened; and afterwards meeting a much greater number, was fully informed of the defeat, and went in search of Tigranes. He found him at length, abandoned by all the world, and in a very deplorable condition. Far from returning his ungenerous treatment, and insulting Tigranes in his misfortunes, as he had done him, he quitted his horse, lamented their common disgraces, gave him the guard that attended, and the officers that served him, consoled, encouraged him, and revived his hopes: so that Mithridates, upon this occasion, shewed himself not entirely void of humanity. Both together applied to raising new troops on all sides.

In the mean time a furious sedition arose at Tigranocerta; the Greeks having mutinied against the Barbarians, and determined at all events to deliver the city to Lucullus. That sedition was at the highest when he arrived there. He took advantage of the occasion, ordered the assault to be given, took the city, and after having seized all the king's treasures, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers; who, besides other riches, found in it eight thousand talents of coined silver, about one million two hundred thousand pounds Sterling. Besides this plunder, he gave each soldier eight * hundred drachms, which, with all the booty they had taken, did not suffice to satisfy their insatiable avidity.

[d] As this city had been peopled by colonies, which had been carried away by force from Cappadocia, Cilicia, and other places, Lucullus permitted them all to return into their native countries. They received that permission with extreme joy, and quitted it in so great a number, that from one of the greatest cities in the world, Tigranocerta became in an instant almost a desert.

d Strab. l. xi. p. 532. et l. xii. p. 539.

* About twenty pounds Sterling.

[e] If Lucullus had pursued Tigranes after his victory, without giving him time to raise new troops, he would either have taken, or driven him out of the country, and the war had been at an end. His having failed to do so was very ill taken, both in the army and at Rome, and he was accused, not of negligence, but of having intended by such conduct to make himself necessary, and to retain the command longer in his own hands. This was one of the reasons that prejudiced the generality against him, and induced them to think of giving him a successor, as we shall see in the sequel.

After the great victory he had gained over Tigranes, several nations came to make their submissions to him. He received also an embassy from the king of the Parthians, who demanded the amity and alliance of the Romans. Lucullus received this proposal favourably, and sent also ambassadors to him, who, being arrived at the Parthian court, discovered that the king, uncertain which side to take, wavered between the Romans and Tigranes, and had secretly demanded Mesopotamia of the latter, as the price of the aid he offered him. Lucullus, informed of this secret intrigue, resolved to leave Mithridates and Tigranes, and turn his arms against the king of the Parthians; flattered with the grateful thought, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to have entirely reduced, in one expedition, the three most powerful princes under the sun. But the opposition this proposal met with from the troops, obliged him to renounce his enterprise against the Parthians, and to confine himself to pursuing Tigranes.

During this delay, Mithridates and Tigranes had been indefatigable in raising new troops. They had sent to implore aid of the neighbouring nations, and especially of the Parthians, who were the nearest, and at the same time in the best condition to assist them in the present emergency of their affairs. Mithridates wrote a letter to their king, which Sallust has preserved, and is to be found amongst his fragments. I shall insert a part of it in this place.

*Letter of Mithridates to Arsaces * king of the Parthians.*

"ALL those † who, in a state of prosperity, are invited to "enter as confederates into a war, ought first to consider, "whether peace be their own option; and next, whether

e Dion. Cas. l. xxxv. p. 1.

* Arsaces was a common name to all the kings of Parthia.

† Omnes, qui secundis rebus suis ad belli societatem orantur, considerare debent, liceatne tum pacem agere: dein quod quæritur, satisne pium, tutum, gloriosum,

"what is demanded of them, is consistent with justice, their "interest, safety, and glory. You might enjoy perpetual peace "and tranquillity, were not the enemy always intent upon "seizing occasions of war, and entirely void of faith. In re- "ducing the Romans, you cannot but acquire exalted glory. "It may seem inconsistent in me, to propose to you either an "alliance with Tigranes, or, powerful as you are, that you "should join a prince in my unfortunate condition. But I "dare advance, that those two motives, your resentment a- "gainst Tigranes upon account of his late war with you, and "the disadvantageous situation of my affairs, to judge rightly "of them, far from opposing my demand, ought to support it. "For, as to Tigranes, as he knows he has given you just cause "of complaint, he will accept without difficulty whatever con- "ditions you shall think fit to impose upon him; and for me, "I can say, that fortune, by having deprived me of almost all "I possessed, has enabled me to give others good counsels; "and, which is much to be desired of persons in prosperity, I "can, even from my own misfortunes, supply you with ex- "amples, and induce you to take better measures than I have "done. For, do not deceive yourself; it is with all the na- "tions, states, and kingdoms of the earth, the Romans are at "war; and two motives, as ancient as powerful, put their "arms into their hands; the unbounded ambition of extend- "ing their conquests, and the insatiable thirst of riches." Mithridates afterwards enumerates at large the princes and kings they had reduced one after another, and often by one another. He repeats also his first successes against the Romans, and his late misfortunes. He goes on to this effect: "Examine * now, I beg of you, when we are finally ruined,

an indecorum sit. Tibi perpetua pace frui liceret, nisi hostes opportuni et scelestissimi. Egregia fama, si Romanos oppresseris, futura est. Neque petere audeam societatem, et frustra mala mea cum tuis bonis miscere sperem. Atqui ea, quæ te morari posse videntur, ira in Tigranem recentis belli, et meæ res parum prosperæ, si vera æstumare voles, maxime hortabuntur. Ille enim, obnoxius, qualem tu voles societatem accipiet; mihi fortuna, multis rebus ereptis, usum dedit bene suadendi, et quod florentibus optabile est, ego non validissimus præbeo exemplum quo rectius tua componas. Namque Romanis cum nationibus, populis, regibus cunctis, una et ea vetus causa bellandi est, cupido profunda imperii et divitiarum.

* Nunc, quæso, considera, nobis oppressis, utrum, firmiorem te ad resistendum, an finem belli futurum putes? Scio equidem tibi magnas opes virorum, armorum, et auri esse: et ea re nobis ad societatem, ab illis ad prædam peteris. Cæterum consilium, est Tigranes, regno integro, meis militibus belli prudentibus, procul ab domo, parvo labore, per nostra corpora bellum conficere; quando neque vincere neque vinci sine periculo tuo possumus. An ignoras Romanos, postquam ad occidentem pergentibus finem oceanus fecit, armo huc convertisse? Neque quicquam a principio nisi

" whether you will be in a condition to resist the Romans, or " can believe, that they will confine their conquests to my " country? I know you are powerful in men, in arms, and " treasure; it is therefore we desire to strengthen ourselves by " your alliance; they, to grow rich by your spoils. For the " rest, it is the intent of Tigranes, to avoid drawing the war " into his country, that we shall go with all my troops, which " are certainly well disciplined, to carry our arms far from " home, and attack the enemy in person in their own country. " We cannot therefore either conquer or be conquered, with- " out your being in danger. Do you not know, that the Ro- " mans, when they found themselves stopped by the ocean on " the West, turned their arms this way? That to look back " to their foundation and origin, whatever they have, they " have from violence: home, wives, lands, and dominions. " A vile herd of every kind of vagabonds, without country, " without forefathers, they established themselves for the " misfortune of the human race. Neither divine nor human " laws restrain them from betraying and destroying their al- " lies and friends, remote nations or neighbours, the weak or " the powerful. They reckon all enemies that are not their " slaves; and especially, whatever bears the name of king: " for few nations affect a free and independent government; " the generality prefer just and equitable masters. They sus- " pect us, because we are said to emulate their power, and " may in time avenge their oppressions. But for you, who " have Seleucia, the greatest of cities, and Persia, the richest " and most powerful of kingdoms, what can you expect from " them, but deceit at present, and war hereafter? The Ro- " mans are at war with all nations; but especially with those " from whom the richest spoils are to be expected. They

raptum habere; domum, conjuges, agros, imperium? Convenas, olim sine patria, sine parentibus, peste conditos orbis terrarum; quibus non humana ulla neque divina obstant, socios, amicos, procul juxtaque sitos, inopes, potentesque trahant, excidantque; omniaque non serva et maxime regna hostilia ducant. Namque pauci libertatem pars magna justos dominos volunt. Nos suspecti sumus æmuli, et in tempore vindices affuturi. Tu vero cui Seleucia maxima urbium, regnumque Persidis inclitis divitiis est, quid ab illis, nisi dolum in præsens, et postea bellum expectas? Romani in omnes arma habent, acerrima in eos quibus spolia maxuma sunt. Audendo et fallendo, et bella ex bellis ferendo, magni facti. Per hunc morem extinguent omnia aut occident: quod difficile non est, si tu Mesopotamia, nos Armenia circumgredimur exercitum sine frumento, sine auxiliis. Fortuna autem nostris vitiis adhuc iucolumis. Teque illa fama sequetur, auxilio profectum magnis regibus latrones gentium oppressisse. Quod uti facias moneo hortorque, neu malis pernicie nostra unum imperium probare, quam societate victor fieri.

" are become great by enterprising, betraying, and making " one war bring forth another. By this means they will " either destroy all others, or be destroyed themselves. It " will not be difficult to ruin them, if you on the side of Me- " sopotamia, and we on that of Armenia, surround their army, " without provisions or auxiliaries. The prosperity of their " arms has subsisted hitherto solely by our fault, who have " not been so prudent as to understand this common enemy, " and to ally ourselves against him. It will be for your im- " mortal glory to have supported two great kings, and to have " conquered and destroyed those robbers of the world. This " is what I earnestly advise and exhort you to do; that you " may choose rather to share with us by a salutary alliance, in " conquering the common enemy, than to suffer the Roman " empire to extend itself universally by our ruin."

It does not appear that this letter had the effect upon Phraates Mithridates might have hoped from it; so that the two kings contented themselves with their own troops.

[f] One of the means made use of by Tigranes to assemble a new army, was to recall Megadatus from Syria, who had governed it fourteen years in his name; him he sent orders to join him with all the troops in that country. [g] Syria being thereby entirely ungarrisoned, Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eupator, to whom it of right appertained, as lawful heir of the house of Seleucus, took possession of some part of the country, and reigned there peaceably during four years.

[h] The army of Tigranes and Mithridates was at last formed. It consisted of seventy thousand chosen men, whom Mithridates had exercised well in the Roman discipline. It was about midsummer before he took the field. The two kings took particular care, in all the motions they made, to choose an advantageous ground for their camp, and to fortify it well, to prevent Lucullus's attacking them in it; nor could all the stratagems he used engage them to come to a battle. Their design was to reduce him gradually; to harass his troops on their marches, in order to weaken them; to intercept his convoys, and oblige him to quit the country for want of provisions. Lucullus not being able, by all the arts he could use, to bring them into the open field, employed a new means, which succeeded. Tigranes had left at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia before the foundation of Tigranocerta, his wives and children; as he had almost all his treasures. Lucullus marched

f Appian. in Syr. p. 118, 119. g Justin. l. xl. c. 2.
h A. M. 3936. Ant. J. C. 68. Plut. in Lucul. p. 513.—515.

that way with all his troops, rightly foreseeing, that Tigranes would not remain quiet, when he saw the danger to which his capital was exposed. That prince accordingly decamped immediately, followed Lucullus to disconcert his design; and by four great marches having got before him, posted himself behind the river * Arsamia, which Lucullus was obliged to pass in his way to Artaxata, and resolved to dispute the passage with him. The Romans passed the river without being prevented by the presence or efforts of the enemy. A great battle ensued; in which the Romans again obtained a complete victory. There were three kings in the Armenian army, of whom Mithridates behaved the worst; for not being able to look the Roman legions in the face, as soon as they charged, he was one of the first that fled; which threw the whole army into such a consternation, that it entirely lost courage; and this was the principal cause of the loss of the battle.

[i] Lucullus, after this victory, determined to continue his march to Artaxata, which was the certain means to put an end to the war; but as that city was still several days journey from thence towards the north, and winter approached, by its train of snows and storms, the † soldiers, already fatigued by a sufficiently rude campaign, refused to follow him into that country, where the cold was too severe for them. He was obliged to lead them into a warmer climate, by returning the way he came. He therefore repassed Mount Taurus, and entered Mesopotamia, where he took the city Nisibis, a place of considerable strength, and put his troops in winter-quarters.

It was there the spirit of mutiny began to shew itself openly in the army of Lucullus. That general's severity, and the insolent liberty of the Roman soldiers, and still more the malignant practices of Clodius, had given occasion for this revolt. Clodius, so well known for the invectives of Cicero his enemy, is hardly better treated by historians. They represent him as a man abandoned to all kind of vices, and infamous for his debauches, which he carried so far as to commit incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus; to these he added unbounded audacity, and uncommon cunning in the contrivance of seditions; in a word, he was one of those dangerous persons, born to disturb and ruin every thing, by the unhappy

i Dion. Cass. l. xxxvii. p. 5.—7. * Or Arsania.

† Noster exercitus, etsi urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat, et præliis usus erat secundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum, ac desiderio suorum commovebatur. —Cic. pro Lege Mer. n. 23.

union in himself of the most wicked inclinations with the talents necessary for putting them in execution. He gave a proof of this upon the occasion we are now speaking of. Discontented with Lucullus, he secretly spread reports against him, highly proper to render him odious. He affected to lament extremely the fatigues of the soldiers, and to enter into their interests. He told them every day, that they were very unfortunate, in being obliged to serve so long under a severe and avaricious general, in a remote climate, without lands or rewards, whilst their fellow-soldiers, whose conquests were very moderate in comparison with theirs, had enriched themselves under Pompey. Discourses of this kind, attended with obliging and popular behaviour, which he knew how to assume occasionally without the appearance of affectation, made such an impression upon the soldiers, that it was no longer in the power of Lucullus to govern them.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had re-entered Pontus with four thousand of his own, and four thousand troops given him by Tigranes. * Several inhabitants of the country joined him again, as well out of hatred to the Romans, who had treated them with great rigour, as the remains of affection for their king, reduced to the mournful condition in which they saw him, from the most splendid fortune and exalted greatness: for the misfortunes of princes naturally excite compassion; and there is generally a profound respect in the hearts of the people for the name and person of kings. Mithridates, encouraged and strengthened by these new aids, and the troops which several neighbouring states and princes sent him, resumed courage, and saw himself more than ever in a condition to make head against the Romans. † So that, not contented with being re-established in his dominions, which a moment before he did not so much as hope ever to see again, he had the boldness to attack the Roman troops, so often victorious, beat a body of them commanded by Fabius, and after having put them to the rout, pressed Friarius and Sornatius,

* Mithridates et suam manuam jam confirmaret, et eorum qui se ex ejus regno collegerent, et magnis adventitiis multorum regnum et nationum copias juvabatur. Hoe jam fere sic fieri solero accepimus; ut regnum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opes alliceant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut reges sunt; aut vivant in regno: quod regale iis nomen magnum et sanctum esse videatur.—Cic. pro Lege Manil. n. 24.

† Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. Num cum se in regnum recepisset suum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem acciderat, ut eam, postea quam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret; sed in exercitum vestrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit.—Cic. pro Leg. Man. n. 25.

two other of Lucullus's lieutenancy in that country, with great vigour.

Lucullus at length engaged his soldiers to quit their winter-quarters, and to go to their aid. [k] But they arrived too late. Friarius had imprudently ventured a battle, in which Mithridates had defeated him, and killed seven thousand men; amongst whom were reckoned an hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes *, which made this one of the greatest losses the Romans had sustained a great while. The army had been entirely defeated, but for a wound Mithridates received, which exceedingly alarmed his troops, and gave the enemy time to escape. Lucullus, upon his arrival, found the dead bodies upon the field of battle, and did not give orders for their interment; which still more exasperated his soldiers against him. The spirit of revolt rose so high, that without any regard for his character as a general, they treated him no longer but with insolence and contempt; and though he went from tent to tent, and almost from man to man, to conjure them to march against Mithridates and Tigranes, he could never prevail upon them to quit the place where they were. They answered him brutally, that as he had no thoughts but of enriching himself alone out of the spoils of the enemy, he might march alone, and fight them if he thought fit.

SECTION IV.

MITHRIDATES RECOVERS ALL HIS DOMINIONS. POMPEY OVERTHROWS HIM IN SEVERAL BATTLES.

Manius Acilius Glabrio, and C. Piso, had been elected consuls at Rome. The first had Bithynia and Pontus for his province, where Lucullus commanded. The senate at the same time disbanded Fimbria's legions, which were part of his army. All this news augmented the disobedience and insolence of the troops in regard to Lucullus.

[l] It is true, his rough, austere, and frequently haughty disposition, gave some room for such usage. He cannot be denied the glory of having been one of the greatest captains of his age, and of having had almost all the qualities that form a complete general. But the want of one diminished the

k A. M. 3937. Ant. J. C. 67. l Dion. in Cass. l. xxx. p. 7.

* Quæ calamitas tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculli, non ex prælio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret.—Cic. pro Leg. Man. n. 25.

merit of all the rest; I mean address in winning the heart, and making himself beloved by the soldiers. He was difficult of access; rough in commanding; carried exactitude in point of duty to an excess that made it odious; was inexorable in punishing offences; and did not know how to conciliate esteem by praises and rewards bestowed opportunely; an air of kindness and favour, and insinuating manners, still more efficacious than either gifts or praises. And what proves that the sedition of the troops was in a great measure his own fault, was, their being very docile and obedient under Pompey.

In consequence of the letters Lucullus wrote to the senate, in which he acquainted them, that Mithridates was entirely defeated, and utterly incapable of retrieving himself, commissioners had been nominated to regulate the affairs of Pontus, as of a kingdom totally reduced. They were much surprised to find, upon their arrival, that far from being master of Pontus, he was not so much as master of his army, and that his own soldiers treated him with the utmost contempt.

The arrival of the consul Acilius Glabrio still added to their licentiousness. * He informed them, that Lucullus had been accused at Rome of protracting the war for the sake of continuing in command; that the senate had disbanded part of his troops, and forbade them paying him any further obedience: so that he found himself almost entirely abandoned by the soldiers. Mithridates, taking advantage of this disorder, had time to recover his whole kingdom, and to make ravages in Cappadocia.

Whilst the affairs of the army were in this condition, great noise was made at Rome against Lucullus. [m] Pompey was returned from putting an end to the war with the pirates, in which an extraordinary power had been granted him. Upon this occasion, one of the tribunes of the people, named Manilius, passed a decree to this effect: "That Pompey, taking "upon him the command of all the troops and provinces "which were under Lucullus, and adding to them Bithynia, "where Acilius commanded, should be charged with making

[m] A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66. Plut. in Pomp. p. 634. Appian. p. 238. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 70.

* In ipso illo malo gravissimaque belli offensione, L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactas, quod imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum, veteri exemplo, putavistis, partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confectis erant, dimisit, partem Glabrioni tradidit.—Cic. pro Leg. n. 26.

" war upon the kings Mithridates and Tigranes, retaining " under him all the naval forces, and continuing to command " at sea, with the same conditions and prerogatives as had " been granted him in the war against the pirates: that is to " say, that he should have absolute power on all the coasts " of the Mediterranean, to thirty leagues distance from the " sea." This was in effect subjecting the whole Roman empire to one man: for all the provinces which had not been granted him by the first decree, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia the Higher, Colchis, and Armenia, were conferred upon him by this second, which included also all the armies and forces with which Lucullus had defeated the two kings, Mithridates and Tigranes.

Consideration for Lucullus, who was deprived of the glory of his great exploits, and in the place of whom a general was appointed, to succeed more to the honours of his triumph than the command of his armies, was not, however, what gave the nobility and the senate most concern. They were well convinced that great wrong was done him, and that his services were not treated with the gratitude they deserved; but what gave them most pain, and they could not support, was that high degree of power to which Pompey was raised, which they considered as a tyranny already formed. It is for this reason they exhorted each other in a particular manner to oppose this decree, and not abandon their expiring liberty.

Cæsar and Cicero, who were very powerful at Rome, supported Manilius, or rather Pompey, with all their credit. It was upon this occasion the latter pronounced that fine oration before the people, intituled, " For the law of Manilius." After having demonstrated, in the two first parts of his discourse, the necessity and importance of the war in question, he proves in the third, that Pompey is the only person capable of terminating it successfully. For this purpose he enumerates the qualities necessary to form a general of an army, and shews that Pompey possesses them all in a supreme degree. He insists principally upon his probity, humanity, innocence of manners, integrity, disinterestedness, love of the public good: " Virtues, by so much the more necessary," says he, " as the * Roman name is become infamous and hateful " amongst foreign nations, and our allies, in effect of the de-

* Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud cæteras nationes, propter eorum, quos ad eas hoc anno cum imperio misimus, injurias ac libidines.— Num. 61.

"bauches, avarice, and unheard of oppressions of the gene-
"rals and magistrates we send amongst them. * Instead of
"which, the wise, moderate, and irreproachable conduct of
"Pompey, will make him be regarded, not only as sent from
"Rome, but descended from heaven, for the happiness of the
"people. We begin to believe, that all which is related of
"the noble disinterestedness of those ancient Romans is real
"and true; and that it is not without reason, under such
"magistrates, that nations chose rather to obey the Roman
"people, than to command others."

Pompey was at that time the idol of the people; wherefore the fear of displeasing the multitude kept those grave senators silent, who had appeared so well inclined, and so full of courage. The decree was authorized by the suffrages of all the tribes, and Pompey, though absent, declared absolute master of almost all Sylla had usurped by arms, and by making a cruel war upon his country.

[n] We must not imagine, says a very judicious historian, that either Cæsar or Cicero, who took so much pains to have this law passed, acted from views of the public good. Cæsar, full of ambition and great projects, endeavoured to make his court to the people, whose authority he knew was at that time much greater than the senate's: he thereby opened himself a way to the same power, and familiarized the Romans to extraordinary and unlimited commissions: in heaping upon the head of Pompey so many favours and glaring distinctions, he flattered himself that he should at length render him odious to the people, who would soon take offence at them. So that in lifting him up, he had no other design than to prepare a precipice for him. Cicero also intended only his own greatness. It was his weakness to desire to lord it in the commonwealth, not indeed by guilt and violence, but by the method of persuasion. Besides his having the support of Pompey's credit in view, he was very well pleased with shewing the nobility and people, who formed two parties, and in a manner two republics in the state, that he was capable of making the balance incline to the side he espoused. In con-

n Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 20, 21.

* Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cœlo delapsum, intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam abstinentia quod jam nationibus cæteris incredibile, ac falso memoriæ proditum, videbatur. Nunc imperii nostri splendor illis gentibus lucet: nunc intelligunt, non sine causa majores suos tum, cum hac temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis maluisse.—Ibid. n. 41.

sequence, it was always his policy to conciliate equally both parties, in declaring sometimes for the one and sometimes for the other.

[o] Pompey, who had already terminated the war with the pirates, was still in Cilicia, when he received letters to inform him of all the people had decreed in his favour. When his friends, who were present, congratulated him, and expressed their joy, it is said that he knit his brows, struck his thigh, and cried, as if oppressed by, and sorry for that new command; "Gods, what endless labours am I devoted to? Had "I not been more happy as a man unknown and inglorious? "Shall I never cease to make war, nor ever have my arms off "my back? Shall I never escape the envy that persecutes "me, nor live at peace in the country with my wife and "children?"

This is usually enough the language of the ambitious, even of those who are most excessively actuated by that passion. But however successful they may be in imposing upon themselves, it seldom happens that they deceive others; and the public is far from mistaking them. The friends of Pompey, and even those who were most intimate with him, could not support his dissimulation at this time; for there was not one of them who did not know, that his natural ambition and passion for command, still more inflamed by his difference with Lucullus, made him find a more exalted and sensible satisfaction in the new charge conferred upon him: and his actions soon took off the mask, and explained his real sentiments.

The first step which he took upon arriving in the provinces of his government, was to forbid any obedience whatsoever to the orders of Lucullus. In his march, he altered every thing his predecessor had decreed. He discharged some from the penalties Lucullus had laid upon them; deprived others of the rewards he had given them; in short, his sole view in every thing was to let the partizans of Lucullus see, that they adhered to a man who had neither authority nor power. [p] Strabo's uncle by the mother's side, highly discontented with Mithridates for having put to death several of his relations, to avenge himself for that cruelty, had gone over to Lucullus, and had given up fifteen places in Cappadocia to him. Lucullus loaded him with honours, and promised to

o A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66. Plut. in Pomp. p. 634.—636. Diod. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 22.—25. Appian. p. 238.

p Strab. l. xii. p. 557, 558.

reward him as such considerable services deserved. Pompey, far from having any regard for such just and reasonable engagements, which his predecessor had entered into solely from the view of the public good, affected an universal opposition to them, and looked upon all those as his enemies who had contracted any friendship with Lucullus.

It is not uncommon for a successor to endeavour to lessen the value of his predecessor's actions, in order to arrogate all honour to himself; but certainly none ever carried that conduct to such monstrous excess as Pompey did at this time. His great qualities and innumerable conquests are exceedingly extolled; but so base and odious a jealousy ought to sully, or rather totally eclipse, the glory of them. Such was the manner in which Pompey thought fit to begin.

Lucullus made bitter complaints of him. Their common friends, in order to a reconciliation, concerted an interview between them. It passed at first with all possible politeness, and with reciprocal marks of esteem and amity; but these were only compliments, and a language that extended no farther than the lips, which cost the great nothing. The heart soon explained itself. The conversation growing warm by degrees, they proceeded to injurious terms: Pompey reproached Lucullus with his avarice, and Lucullus Pompey with his ambition, in which they spoke the truth of each other. They parted more incensed, and greater enemies than before.

Lucullus set out for Rome, whither he carried a great quantity of books, which he had collected in his conquests. He put them into a library, which was open to all the learned and curious, whom it drew about him in great numbers. They were received at his house with all possible politeness and generosity. The honour of a triumph was granted to Lucullus; but not without being long contested.

[q] It was he that first brought cherries to Rome, which till then had been unknown in Europe. They were called Cerasus, from a city of that name in Cappadocia.

Pompey began by engaging Phraates king of the Parthians in the Roman interest. He has been spoken of already, and is the same who was surnamed the God. He concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with him. He offered peace also to Mithridates; but that prince, believing himself sure of the amity and aid of Phraates, would not so much as hear it

[q] Plin. l. xv. c. 25.

mentioned. When he was informed that Pompey had prevented him, he sent to treat with him: but Pompey having demanded by way of preliminary, that he should lay down his arms, and give up all deserters, those proposals were very near occasioning a mutiny in Mithridates's army. As there were abundance of deserters in it, they could not suffer any thing to be said upon delivering them up to Pompey; nor would the rest of the army consent to see themselves weakened by the loss of their comrades. Mithridates was obliged to tell them, that he had sent his ambassadors only to inspect into the condition of the Roman army; and to swear, that he would not make peace with the Romans either on those, or on any other conditions.

Pompey, having distributed his fleet in different stations, to guard the whole sea between Phœnicia and the Bosphorus, marched by land against Mithridates, who had still thirty thousand foot, and two or three thousand horse; but did not dare, however, to come to a battle. That prince was encamped very strongly upon a mountain, where he could not be forced: but he abandoned it on Pompey's approach, for want of water. Pompey immediately took possession of it, and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and other signs, that there was abundance of springs within it, he ordered wells to be dug; and in an instant the camp had water in abundance. Pompey could not sufficiently wonder how Mithridates, for want of attention and curiosity, had been so long ignorant of so important and necessary a resource.

Soon after, he followed him, encamped near him, and shut him up within good walls, which he carried quite round his camp. They were almost eight * leagues in circumference, and were fortified with good towers, at proper distances from each other. Mithridates, either out of fear or negligence, suffered him to finish his works. He reduced him in consequence to such a want of provisions, that his troops were obliged to subsist upon the carriage-beasts in their camp. The horses only were spared. After having sustained this kind of siege for almost fifty days, Mithridates escaped by night, with all the best troops of his army, having first ordered all the useless and sick persons to be killed.

Pompey immediately pursued him, came up with him near the Euphrates, encamped near him; and apprehending that, in order to escape, he would make haste to pass the river, he quitted his intrenchments, and advanced against him by night,

* One hundred and fifty stadia.

in order of battle. His design was only to surround the enemy, to prevent their flying, and to attack them at day-break the next morning: but all his old officers made such entreaties and remonstrances to him, that they determined him to fight without waiting till day; for the night was not very dark, the moon giving light enough for distinguishing objects, and knowing one another. Pompey could not refuse himself to the ardour of his troops, and led them on against the enemy. The Barbarians were afraid to stand the attack, and fled immediately in the utmost consternation. The Romans made a great slaughter of them, killed above ten thousand men, and took their whole camp.

Mithridates, with eight hundred horse, in the beginning of the battle, opened himself a way, sword in hand, through the Roman army, and went off: but those eight hundred horse soon quitted their ranks and dispersed, and left him with only three followers, of which number was Hypsicratia, one of his wives, a woman of masculine courage and warlike boldness; which occasioned her being called Hyspicrates [r], by changing the termination of her name from the feminine to the masculine. She was mounted that day upon a Persian horse, and wore the habit of a soldier of that nation. She continued to attend the king, without giving way to the fatigues of his long journies, or being weary of serving him, though she took care of his horse herself, till they arrived at a fortress, where the king's treasures and most precious effects lay. There, after having distributed the most magnificent of his robes to such as were assembled about him, he made a present to each of his friends of a mortal poison, that none of them might fall alive into the hands of their enemies, but by their own consent.

[s] That unhappy fugitive saw no other hopes for him, but from his son-in-law Tigranes. He sent ambassadors to demand his permission to take refuge in his dominions, and aid for the re-establishment of his entirely ruined affairs. Tigranes was at that time at war with his son. He caused those ambassadors to be seized, and thrown into prison, and set a price upon his father-in-law's head, promising * an hundred talents to whomsoever should seize or kill him, under pretence that it was Mithridates who made his son take up arms against

r Ultra fæminam ferox.—Tacit.

s Plut. in Pomp. p. 636, 637. Appian. p. 242. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 25, 26.

* An hundred thousand crowns.

him, but in reality to make his court to the Romans, as we shall soon see.

Pompey, after the victory he had gained, marched into Armenia Major against Tigranes. He found him at war with his son of his own name. We have observed, that the king of Armenia had espoused Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates. He had three sons by her, two of whom he had put to death without reason. The third, to escape the cruelty of so unnatural a father, had fled to Phraates, king of Parthia, whose daughter he had married. His father-in-law carried him back to Armenia at the head of an army, where they besieged Artaxata. But finding the place very strong, and provided with every thing necessary for a good defence, Phraates left him part of the army for carrying on the siege, and returned with the rest into his own dominions. Tigranes the father soon after fell upon the son with all his troops, beat his army, and drove him out of the country. That young prince, after this misfortune, had designed to withdraw to his grandfather Mithridates; but on the way was informed of his defeat, and having lost all hopes of obtaining aid from him, he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the Romans. Accordingly, he entered their camp, and went to Pompey to implore his protection. Pompey gave him a very good reception, and was glad of his coming: for being to carry the war into Armenia, he had occasion for such a guide as him. He therefore caused that prince to conduct him directly to Artaxata.

Tigranes, terrified at this news, and sensible that he was not in a condition to oppose so powerful an army, resolved to have recourse to the generosity and clemency of the Roman general. He put the ambassadors sent to him by Mithridates into his hands, and followed them directly himself. Without taking any precaution, he entered the Roman camp, and went to submit his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey and the Romans. * He said, That of all the Romans, and of all mankind, Pompey was the only person in whose faith he could confide: that in whatsoever manner he should decide his fate, he should be satisfied: that he was not ashamed to be conquered by a man whom none could con-

* Mox ipse supplex et præsens se regnumque ditioni ejus permisit, præfatus: neminem alium neque Romanum neque ullius gentis virum futurum fuisse, cujus se fidei commissurus foret, quam Cn. Pompeium. Proinde omnem sibi vel adversam vel secundam, cujus auctor ille esset, fortunam tolerabilem futuram. Non esset turpe ab eo vinci quem vincere esset nefas: neque disinhoneste aliquem submitti quem fortuna super omnes extulisset.—Vel. Paterc. l. ii. c. 37.

quer: and that it was no dishonour to submit to him, whom fortune had made superior to all others.

When he arrived on horseback near the intrenchments of the camp, two of Pompey's lictors came out to meet him, and ordered him to dismount and enter on foot; telling him, that no stranger had ever been known to enter a Roman camp on horseback. Tigranes obeyed, ungirt his sword, and gave it to the lictors; and after, when he approached Pompey, taking off his diadem, he would have laid it at his feet, and prostrated himself on the earth to embrace his knees; but Pompey ran to prevent him, and taking him by the hand, led him into his tent, made him sit on the right, and his son, the young Tigranes, on the left side of him. He after referred hearing what he had to say to the next day, and invited the father and son to sup with him that evening. The son refused to be there with his father; and as he had not shewed him the least mark of respect during the interview, and had treated him with the same indifference as if he had been a stranger, Pompey was very much offended at that behaviour. He did not, however, entirely neglect his interests in determining upon the affair of Tigranes. After having condemned Tigranes to pay the Romans * six thousand talents for the charges of the war he had made against them without cause, and to relinquish to them all his conquests on that side of the Euphrates, he decreed, that he should reign in his ancient kingdom Armenia Major, and that his son should have Gordiana and Sophena, two provinces upon the borders of Armenia, during his father's life, and all the rest of his dominions after his death; reserving, however, to the father, the treasures he had in Sophena, without which it had been impossible for him to have paid the Romans the sums Pompey required of him.

The father was well satisfied with these conditions, which still left him a crown. But the son, who had entertained chimerical hopes, could not relish a decree which deprived him of what had been promised him. He was even so much discontented with it, that he wanted to escape, in order to have excited new troubles. Pompey, who suspected his design, ordered him to be always kept in view; and upon his absolutely refusing to consent that his father should withdraw his treasures from Sophena, he caused him to be put in prison. Afterwards, having discovered that he solicited the Armenian

* About nine hundred thousand pounds Sterling.

nobility to take up arms, and endeavoured to engage the Parthians to do the same, he put him amongst those he reserved for his triumph.

Some time after, Phraates, king of the Parthians, sent to Pompey, to claim that young prince as his son-in-law, and to represent to him, that he ought to make the Euphrates the boundary of his conquests. Pompey made answer, that the younger Tigranes was more related to his father than his father-in-law; and that as to his conquests, he should give them such bounds as reason and justice required, but without being prescribed in them by any one.

When Tigranes had been suffered to possess himself of his treasures in Sophena, he paid the six thousand talents, and besides that, gave every private soldier fifty * drachms, a † thousand to a centurion, and ten thousand ‡ to each tribune; and by that liberality obtained the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. This had been pardonable, had he not added to it abject behaviour, and submissions unworthy of a king.

Pompey gave all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and added to it Sophena and Gordiana, which he had designed for young Tigranes.

[t] After having regulated every thing in Armenia, Pompey marched northwards in pursuit of Mithridates. Upon the banks of the § Cyrus he found the Albanians, and Iberians, two powerful nations, situated between the Caspian and Euxine seas, who endeavoured to stop him; but he beat them, and obliged the Albanians to demand peace. He granted it, and passed the winter in their country.

[u] The next year he took the field very early against the Iberians. This was a very warlike nation, and had never been conquered. It had always retained its liberty, during the time that the Medes, Persians, and Macedonians, had alternately possessed the empire of Asia. Pompey found means to subdue this people, though not without very considerable difficulties, and obliged them to demand peace. The king of the Iberians sent him a bed, a table, and a throne, all of massy gold; desiring him to accept those presents as earnests of his

t Plut. in Pomp. p. 637. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 28.—33. Appian. p. 24, 25.

u A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

* About twenty-two shillings Sterling.

† About twenty-five pounds Sterling.

‡ About two hundred and fifty pounds Sterling.

§ Called Cyrnus also by some authors.

amity. Pompey put them into the hands of the quæstors, for the public treasury. He also subjected the people of Colchis, and made their king Olthaces prisoner, whom he afterwards led in triumph. From thence he returned into Albania, to chastise that nation for having taken up arms again, while he was engaged with the Iberians and people of Colchis.

The army of the Albanians was commanded by Cosis, the brother of king Orodes. That prince, as soon as the two armies came to blows, confined himself to Pompey, and spurring furiously up to him, darted his javelin at him: but Pompey received him so vigorously with his spear, that it went through his body, and laid him dead at his horse's feet. The Albanians were overthrown, and a great slaughter was made of them. This victory obliged king Orodes to buy a second peace upon the same terms with that he had made with the Romans the year before, at the price of great presents, and by giving one of his sons as an hostage for his observing it better than he had done the former.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had passed the winter at Dioscurias, in the north-east of the Euxine sea. Early in the spring he marched to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, through several nations of the Scythians, some of which suffered him to pass voluntarily, and others were obliged to it by force. The kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is the same now called Crim-Tartary, and was at that time a province of Mithridates's empire. He had given it as an appendage to one of his sons, named Machares. But that young prince had been so vigorously handled by the Romans, whilst they besieged Sinope, and their fleet was in possession of the Euxine sea, which lay between that city and his kingdom, that he had been obliged to make a peace with them, and had inviolably observed it till then. He well knew that his father was extremely displeased with such conduct, and therefore very much apprehended his presence. In order to a reconciliation, he sent ambassadors to him upon his route, who represented to him, that he had been reduced to act in that manner, contrary to his inclination, by the necessity of his affairs. But finding that his father would not hearken to his reasons, he endeavoured to save himself by sea, and was taken by vessels sent expressly by Mithridates to cruise in his way. He chose rather to die, than fall into his father's hands.

Pompey, having terminated the war in the North, and seeing it impossible to follow Mithridates in the remote country into which he had retired, led back his army to the South,

and on his march subjected Darius, king of the Medes, and Antiochus, king of Comagena. He went on to Syria, and made himself master of the whole empire. Scaurus reduced Cœlosyria and Damascus, and Gabinius all the rest of the country, as far as the Tigris; they were his lieutenant-generals. [x] Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, heir of the house of the Seleucides, who, by Lucullus's permission, had reigned four years in part of that country, of which he had taken possession when Tigranes abandoned it, came to solicit him to re-establish him upon the throne of his ancestors. But Pompey refused to give him audience, and deprived him of all his dominions, which he made a Roman province. Thus, whilst Tigranes was left in possession of Armenia, who had done the Romans great hurt, during the course of a long war, Antiochus was dethroned, who had never committed the least hostility, and by no means deserved such treatment. The reason given for it was, that the Romans had conquered Syria under Tigranes; that it was not just that they should lose the fruit of their victory; that Antiochus was a prince, who had neither the courage nor capacity necessary for the defence of the country; and that to put it into his hands, would be to expose it to the perpetual ravages and incursions of the Jews, which Pompey took care not to do. In consequence of this way of reasoning, Antiochus lost his crown, and was reduced to the necessity of passing his life as a private person. [y] In him ended the empire of the Seleucides, after a duration of almost 250 years.

During these expeditions of the Romans in Asia, great revolutions happened in Egypt. The Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms, and after having expelled him, called in Ptolemæus Auletes to supply his place. That history will be treated at large in the ensuing Book.

[z] Pompey afterwards went to Damascus, where he regulated several affairs relating to Egypt and Judæa. During his residence there, twelve crowned heads went thither to make their court to him, and were all in the city at the same time.

[a] A fine contention between the love of a father and the duty of a son was seen at this time; a very extraordinary contest in those days, when the most horrid murders and parricides frequently opened the way to thrones. Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, voluntarily resigned the crown in favour of his son, and put the diadem upon his head in the presence

x Appian. in Syr. p. 153. Justin. l. xl. c. 2. y A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.
z Plut. in Pomp. p. 638, 639. a Val. Max. l. v. c. 7.

of Pompey. The most sincere tears flowed in abundance from the eyes of the truly afflicted son, for what others would have highly rejoiced in. It was the sole occasion in which he thought disobedience allowable; and he would have * persisted in refusing the sceptre, if Pompey's orders had not interfered, and obliged him at length to submit to paternal authority. This is the second example Cappadocia has instanced of so generous a dispute. We have spoken in its place of the like contest between the two Ariarathes.

As Mithridates was in possession of several strong places in Pontus and Cappadocia, Pompey judged it necessary to return thither, in order to reduce them. He made himself master of almost all of them, in consequence, upon his arrival, and afterwards wintered at Aspis, a city of Pontus.

Stratonice, one of Mithridates's wives, surrendered a castle of the Bosphorus, which she had in her keeping, to Pompey, with the treasures concealed in it; demanding only for recompence, if her son Xiphares should fall into his hands, that he should be restored to her. Pompey accepted only such of those presents as would serve for the ornaments of temples. When Mithridates knew what Stratonice had done, to revenge her facility in surrendering that fortress, which he considered as a treason, he killed Xiphares in his mother's sight, who beheld that sad spectacle from the other side of the strait.

Caina, or the new city, was the strongest place in Pontus, and therefore Mithridates kept the greatest part of his treasures, and whatever he had of greatest value, in that place, which he conceived impregnable. Pompey took it, and with it all that Mithridates had left in it. Amongst other things were found secret memoirs, written by himself, which gave a very good light into his character. In one part he had noted down the persons he had poisoned, amongst whom were his own son Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis; the latter, because he had carried the prize in the chariot-race against him. What fantastical records were these? Was he afraid that the public and posterity should not be informed of his monstrous crimes, and his motives for committing them?

[b] His memoirs of physic were also found there, which Pompey caused to be translated into Latin by Lenæus, a good grammarian, one of his freedom; and they were afterwards

[b] Plin. l. xxv. c. 20.

* Nec illum finem tam egregium certamen habuisset, nisi patriæ voluntari auctoritas Pompeii adfuisset.—Val. Max.

made public in that language; for amongst the other extraordinary qualities of Mithridates, he was very skilful in medicines. It was he who invented the excellent antidote, which still bears his name, and from which physicians have experienced such effects, that they continue to use it successfully to this day.

[c] Pompey, during his stay at Aspis, made such regulations in the affairs of the country, as the state of them would admit. As soon as the spring returned, he marched back into Syria for the same purpose. He did not think it adviseable to pursue Mithridates in the kingdom of Bosphorus, whither he was returned. To do that, he must have marched round the Euxine sea with an army, and passed through many countries, either inhabited by barbarous nations, or entirely desert; a very dangerous enterprise, in which he would have run great risk of perishing; so that all Pompey could do, was to post the Roman fleet in such a manner as to intercept any convoys that might be sent to Mithridates. He believed, by that means, he should be able to reduce him to the last extremity; and said, on setting out, that he left Mithridates more formidable enemies than the Romans, which were hunger and necessity.

What carried him with so much ardour into Syria, was his excessive and vain-glorious ambition to push his conquests as far as the Red Sea. In Spain, and before that in Africa, he had carried the Roman arms as far as the western ocean on both sides of the straits of the Mediterranean. In the war against the Albanians, he had extended his conquests to the Caspian Sea, and believed there was nothing wanting to his glory, but to push them on as far as the Red Sea. Upon his arrival in Syria, he declared Antioch and Seleucia, upon the Orontes, free cities, and continued his march towards Damascus; from whence he designed to have gone on against the Arabians, and afterwards to have conquered all the countries to the Red Sea; but an accident happened, which obliged him to suspend all his projects, and to return into Pontus.

Some time before, an embassy came to him from Mithridates, king of Pontus, who demanded peace. He proposed, that he should be suffered to retain his hereditary dominions, as Tigranes had been, upon condition of paying a tribute to the Romans, and resigning all other provinces. Pompey re-

[c] A. M. 3940. Ant. J. C. 64. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. 5, 6. Plut. in Pomp. p. 639.—641. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvii. p. 34.—36. App. p. 246.—251.

plied, that then he should also come in person, as Tigranes had done. Mithridates would not consent to such a meanness, but proposed sending his children, and some of his principal friends. Pompey would not agree to that. The negotiation broke up, and Mithridates applied himself to making preparations for war with as much vigour as ever. Pompey, who received advice of this activity, judged it necessary to be upon the spot, in order to have an eye to every thing. For that purpose he went to pass some time at Amisus, the ancient capital of the country. There, through the just punishment of the gods, says Plutarch, his ambition made him commit faults, which drew upon him the blame of all the world. He had publicly charged and reproached Lucullus, that, subsisting the war, he had disposed of provinces, given rewards, decreed honours, and acted in all things as victors are not accustomed to act till a war be finally terminated, and now fell into the same inconsistency himself; for he disposed of governments, and divided the dominions of Mithridates into provinces, as if the war had been at an end. But Mithridates still lived, and every thing was to be apprehended from a prince, inexhaustible in resources, whom the greatest defeats could not disconcert, and whom losses themselves seemed to inspire with new courage, and to supply with new forces. At that very time, when he was believed to be entirely ruined, he actually meditated a terrible invasion into the very heart of the Roman empire with the troops he had lately raised.

Pompey, in the distribution of rewards, gave Armenia Minor to Dejotarus, prince of Galatia, who had always continued firmly attached to the Roman interests during this war; to which he added the title of king. It was this Dejotarus, who, by always persisting, out of gratitude, in his adherence to Pompey, incurred the resentment of Cæsar, and had occasion for the eloquence of Cicero to defend him.

He made Archelaus also high-priest of the Moon, who was the supreme goddess of the Comanians, and gave him the sovereignty of the place, which contained at least six thousand persons, all devoted to the worship of that deity. I have already observed, that this Archelaus was the son of him who had commanded in chief the troops sent by Mithridates into Greece in his first war with the Romans, and who, being disgraced by that prince, had, with his son, taken refuge amongst them. They had always, from that time, continued their firm adherents, and had been of great use to them in the

wars of Asia. The father being dead, the high-priesthood of Comana was given to his son, in recompence for the services of both.

During Pompey's stay in Pontus, Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, took the advantage of his absence to make incursions into Syria, which very much distressed the inhabitants. Pompey returned thither. Upon his way he came to the place where lay the dead bodies of the Romans killed in the defeat of Triarius. He caused them to be interred with great solemnity, which gained him the hearts of his soldiers. From thence he continued his march towards Syria, with the view of executing the projects he had formed for the war of Arabia; but important advices interrupted those designs.

Though Mithridates had lost all hopes of peace, after Pompey had rejected the overtures he had caused to be made to him, and though he saw many of his subjects abandon his party, far from losing courage, he had formed the design of crossing Pannonia, and passing the Alps, to attack the Romans in Italy itself, as Hannibal had done before him; a project more bold than prudent, with which his inveterate hatred and blind despair had inspired him. A great number of neighbouring Scythians had entered themselves into his service, and considerably augmented his army. He had sent deputies into Gaul to solicit that people to join him, when he should approach the Alps. As great passions are always credulous, and men easily flatter themselves in what they ardently desire, he was in hopes that the flame of the revolt among the slaves in Italy and Sicily, perhaps ill extinguished, might suddenly rekindle upon his presence; that the pirates would soon repossess themselves of the empire of the sea, and involve the Romans in new difficulties; and that the provinces, oppressed by the avarice and cruelty of the magistrates and generals, would be fond of throwing off the yoke by his aid, under which they had so long groaned. Such were the thoughts that he had revolved in his mind.

But as, to execute this project, it was necessary to march five hundred leagues, and traverse the countries now called Little Tartary, Moldavia, Walachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Stiria, Carinthia, Tirol, and Lombardy, and pass three great rivers, the Borysthenes, Danube, and Po; the idea alone of so rude and dangerous a march threw his army into such a terror, that, to prevent the execution of his design, they conspired against him, and chose Pharnaces his son king, who had been active in exciting the soldiers to this revolt. Mithridates

then seeing himself abandoned by all the world, and that even his son would not suffer him to escape where he could, retired to his apartment; and after having given poison to such of his wives and daughters as were with him at that time, he took the same himself; but when he perceived that it had not its effect upon him, he had recourse to his sword. The wound he gave himself not sufficing, he was obliged to desire a Gaulish soldier to put an end to his life. Dion says he was killed by his own son.

[d] Mithridates had reigned sixty years, and lived seventy-two. His greatest fear was to fall into the hands of the Romans and to be led in triumph. To prevent that misfortune, he always carried poison about him, in order to escape that way, if other means should fail. The apprehension he was in, lest his son should deliver him up to Pompey, occasioned his taking the fatal resolution he executed so suddenly. It was generally said, the reason the poison did not kill him, was his having taken antidotes so much, that his constitution was proof against it. But this is believed an error; and that it is impossible any remedy should be an universal antidote against all the different species of poison.

Pompey was at Jericho in Palestine, whither the differences between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, of which we have spoken elsewhere, had carried him, when he received the first news of Mithridates's death. It was brought him by expresses dispatched on purpose from Pontus with letters from his lieutenants. Those expresses arriving with their lances crowned with laurels, which was customary only when they brought advice of some victory, or news of great importance and advantage, the army was very eager and solicitous to know what it was. As they had only begun to form their camp, and had not erected the tribunal from which the general harangued the troops, without staying to raise one of turf, as was usual, because that would take up too much time, they made one of the packs of their carriage horses, upon which Pompey mounted without ceremony. He acquainted them with the death of Mithridates, and the manner of his killing himself; that his son Pharnaces submitted himself and dominions to the Romans, and thereby that tedious war, which had endured so long, was at length terminated. This gave both the army and general great subject to rejoice.

d A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63.

Such was the end of Mithridates; a prince, says * an historian, of whom it was difficult either to speak or be silent: full of activity in war, of distinguished courage; and sometimes very great by fortune, and always of invincible resolution; truly a general in his prudence and counsel, and a soldier in action and danger; a second Hannibal in his hatred of the Romans.

Cicero says of Mithridates, that after Alexander he was the greatest of kings: "[e] Ille rex post Alexandrum maximus." It is certain, that the Romans never had such a king in arms against them. Nor can we deny that he had his great qualities; a vast extent of mind, that aspired at every thing; a superiority of genius, capable of the greatest undertakings; a constancy of soul, that the severest misfortunes could not depress; an industry and bravery, inexhaustible in resources, and which, after the greatest losses, brought him again on the stage on a sudden, more powerful and formidable than ever. I cannot, however, believe that he was a consummate general; that idea does not seem to result from his actions. He obtained great advantages at first, but against generals without either merit or experience. When Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey opposed him, it does not appear he acquired any great honour, either by his address in posting himself to advantage, by his presence of mind in unexpected emergency, or intrepidity in the heat of action. But should we admit him to have all the qualities of a great captain, he could not but be considered with horror, when we reflect upon the innumerable murders and parricides of his reign, and that inhuman cruelty, which regarded neither mother, wives, children, nor friends, and which sacrificed every thing to his insatiable ambition.

[f] Pompey being arrived in Syria, went directly to Damascus, with design to set out from hence to begin at length the war with Arabia. When Aretas, the king of that country, saw him upon the point of entering his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions.

The troubles of Judæa employed Pompey some time. He returned afterwards into Syria, from whence he set out for Pontus. Upon his arrival at Amisus, he found the body of

e Academ. Quæst. l. iv. n. 8.

f A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. 4. 8. et de Bell. Jud. l. 5. Plut. in Pomp. p. 641. Appian. p. 250. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 35. et 36.

* Vir neque silendus neque dicendus sine cura: bello acerrimus, virtute eximius; aliquando fortuna, semper animo, maximus: consiliis dux, miles manu; odio in Romanos Annibal.—Vel. Paterc. l. 2. c. 18.

Mithridates there, which Pharnaces his son had sent to him; no doubt to convince Pompey by his own eyes of the death of an enemy who had occasioned him so many difficulties and fatigues. He added great presents, in order to incline him in his favour. Pompey accepted the presents; but for the body of Mithridates, looking upon their enmity to be extinguished in death, he did it all the honours due to the remains of a king, sent it to the city of Sinope to be interred there with the kings of Pontus his ancestors, who had long been buried in that place, and ordered the sums that were necessary for the solemnity of a royal funeral.

In this last journey, he took possession of all the places in the hands of those to whom Mithridates had confided them. He found immense riches in some of them, especially at Telaurus, where part of Mithridates's most valuable effects and precious jewels were kept: his principal arsenal was also in the same place. Amongst those rich things were two thousand cups of onyx, set and adorned with gold; with so prodigious a quantity of all kinds of plate, fine moveables, and furniture of war for man and horse, that it cost the quæstor, or treasurer of the army, thirty days entire in taking the inventory of them.

Pompey granted Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosphorus in reward of his parricide, declared him the friend and ally of the Roman people, and marched into the province of Asia, in order to winter at Ephesus. He gave each of his soldiers fifteen hundred drachms, about thirty-seven pounds Sterling, and to the officers according to their several posts. The total sum to which his liberalities amounted, all raised out of the spoils of the enemy, was sixteen thousand talents; that is to say, about two millions four hundred thousand pounds; besides which, he had twenty thousand more, three millions, to put into the treasury at Rome upon the day of his entry.

[g] His triumph continued two days, and was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. Pompey caused three hundred and twenty-four captives of the highest distinction to march before his chariot: among whom were Aristobulus, king of Judæa, with his son Antigonus; Olthaces, king of Colchis; Tigranes, the son of Tigranes king of Armenia; the sister, five sons, and two daughters of Mithridates. For want of that king's person, his throne, sceptre, and gold bust of eight cubits, or twelve feet, in height, were carried in triumph.

g A. M. 3943. Ant. J. C. 61.

BOOK TWENTY-THIRD.

THE

HISTORY

OF

EGYPT.

PLAN.

THIS book contains the history of thirty-five years, from the beginning of the reign of Ptolemæus Auletes, to the death of Cleopatra, with which ended the kingdom of Egypt; that is to say, from the year of the world 3939, to 3974.

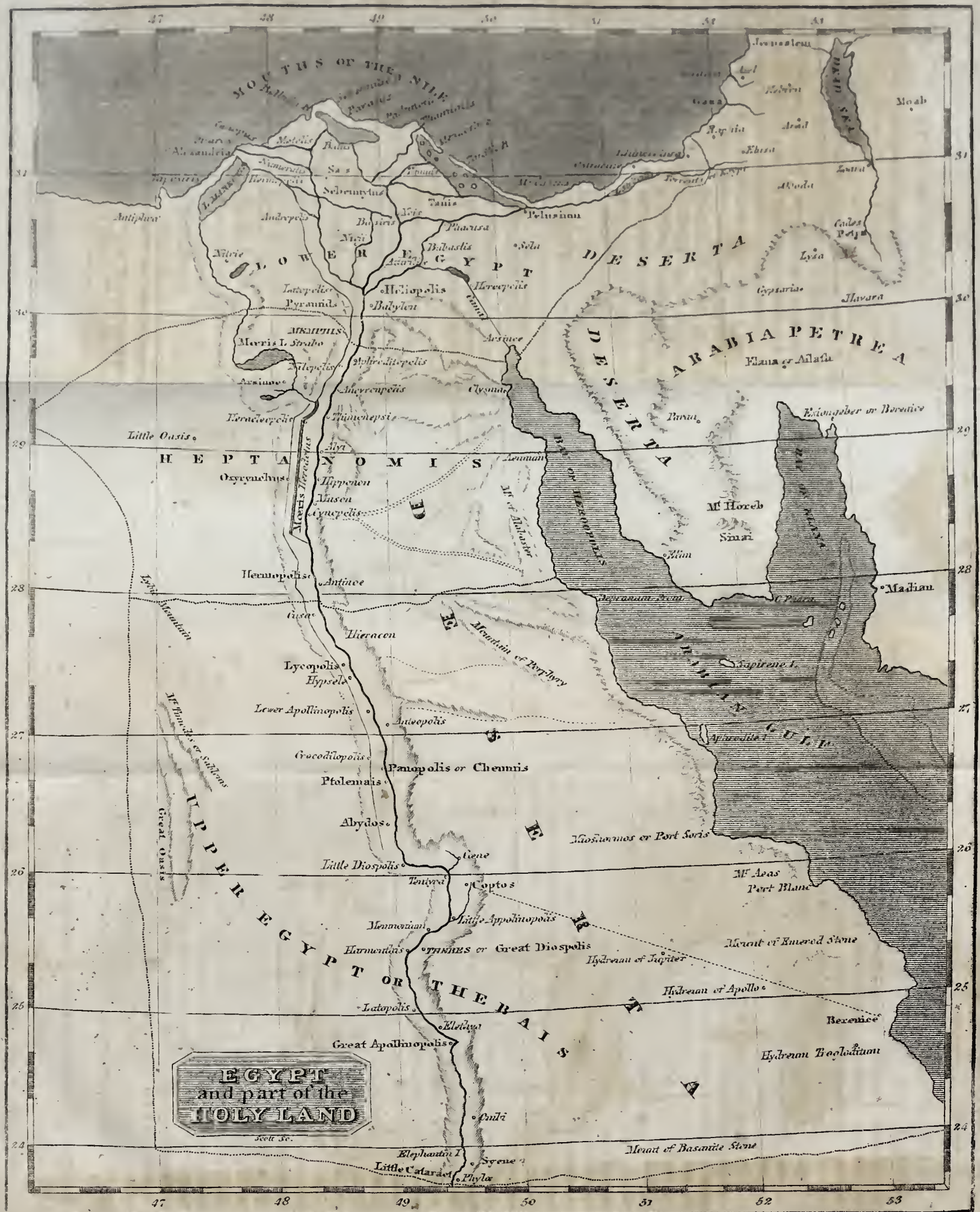
SECTION I.

PTOLEMÆUS AULETES HAD BEEN PLACED UPON THE THRONE OF EGYPT IN THE ROOM OF ALEXANDER.

WE [h] have seen in what manner Ptolemæus Auletes ascended the throne of Egypt. Alexander his predecessor, upon his being expelled by his subjects, withdrew to Tyre, where he died some time after. As he left no issue, nor any other legitimate prince of the blood-royal, he made the Roman people his heirs. The senate, for the reasons I have repeated elsewhere, did not judge it proper at that time to take possession of the dominions left them by Alexander's will; but to shew that they did not renounce their right, they resolved to call in part of the inheritance, and sent deputies to Tyre, to demand a sum of money left there by that king at his death.

The pretensions of the Roman people were under no restrictions; and it had been a very insecure establishment to possess a state, to which they believed they had so just a claim,

h A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.


EGYPT
and part of the
HOLY LAND
Scott Sc.
MOUTHS OF THE NILE
LOWER EGYPT
DESERTA
ARABIA PETREA
HEPTANOMIS
UPPER EGYPT OR THEBAIS
Jerusalem
Moab
Gaza
Rapha
Arad
Elusa
Zoara
Oboda
Cades Petra
Lysa
Gypsaria
Havara
Pelusium
Sola
Tanis
Sebennytus
Sais
Nitrie
Antiphra
Andropolis
Basiris
Nigii
Phacusa
Babastis
Heliopolis
Babylon
Hercopolis
Latopolis
Pyramids
MEMPHIS
Moeris L. Strabo
Nilopolis
Aphroditopolis
Arsinoe
Ancyrenpolis
Clysma
Arsinoe
Heracleopolis
Thimenepsi
Little Oasis
Alyi
Oxyrynchus
Hipponon
Muson
Cynopolis
Moeris Herodotus
Hermopolis
Antinoe
Cusa
Hieracon
Lycopolis
Hypsele
Lower Apollinopolis
Antaeopolis
Crocodilopolis
Panopolis or Chemmis
Ptolemais
Abydos
Little Diospolis
Gene
Tentyra
Coptos
Little Appolinopolis
Memnonium
Harmonthis
THEBES or Great Diospolis
Latopolis
Elethya
Great Apollinopolis
Ombi
Elephantin I.
Syene
Little Cataract
Phylae
Mount of Basanite Stone
Mount of Emerod Stone
Hydreum of Jupiter
Hydreum of Apollo
Berenice
Hydreum Troglodytum
Mt Aeas
Port Blanc
Mioshormos or Port Soris
Aphrodite I.
Sapirene I.
Madian
Elim
Mt Horeb
Sinai
Paran
Exiongeber or Berenice
Elana or Ailath
Mt of Alabaster
Mountain of Porphyry
Lybic Mountain
Mt Timodes or Sabbens
Great Oasis
Scott Sc.
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unless some means were found to make them renounce it. All the kings of Egypt had been friends and allies of Rome. To get himself declared an ally by the Romans, was a certain means to his being authentically acknowledged king of Egypt by them. But how much the more important that qualification was to him, so much the more difficult was it for him to obtain it. His predecessor's will was still fresh in the memory of every body; and as princes are seldom pardoned for defects which do not suit their condition, though they are often spared for those that are much more hurtful, the surname of "Player on the Flute," which he had drawn upon himself, had ranked him as low in the esteem of the Romans, as before in that of the Egyptians.

[i] He did not, however, despair of success in his undertakings. All the methods which he took for the attainment of his end, were a long time ineffectual; and it is likely they would have always been so, if Cæsar had never been consul. That ambitious spirit, who believed all means and expedients just that conduced to his ends, being immensely in debt, and finding that king disposed to merit by money what he could not obtain by right, sold him the alliance of Rome at as dear a price as he was willing to buy it; and received for the purchase, as well for himself as for Pompey, whose credit was necessary to him for obtaining the people's consent, almost six thousand talents, that is to say, almost nine hundred thousand pounds. At this price, he was declared the friend and ally of the Roman people.

[k] Though that prince's yearly revenues were twice the amount of this sum, he could not immediately raise the money, without exceedingly overtaxing his subjects. They were already highly discontented by his not claiming the isle of Cyprus as an ancient appendage of Egypt; and in case of refusal, declaring war against the Romans. In this disposition, the extraordinary imposts he was obliged to exact, having finally exasperated them, they rose with so much violence, that he was forced to fly for the security of his life. He concealed his route so well, that the Egyptians either believed, or feigned to believe, that he had perished. They declared Berenice, the eldest of his three daughters, queen, though he had two sons, because they were both much younger than her.

[l] Ptolemy, however, having landed at the isle of Rhodes,

i Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. 54. Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97. Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.
k A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 58. l Plut. in Cato. Utic. p. 776.

which was in his way to Rome, was informed that Cato, who after his death was called Cato of Utica, was also arrived there some time before. That prince being glad of the opportunity to confer with him upon his own affairs, sent immediately to let him know of his arrival, expecting that he would come directly to visit him. We may see here an instance of Roman grandeur, or rather haughtiness. Cato ordered him to be told, that if he had any thing to say to him, he might come to him if he thought fit. Cato did not vouchsafe so much as to rise, when Ptolemy entered his chamber, and saluting him only as a common man, bade him sit down. The king, though in some confusion upon this reception, could not but admire, how so much haughtiness and state could unite in the same person with the simplicity and modesty that appeared in his habit and all his equipage. But he was very much surprised, when, upon explaining himself, Cato blamed him in direct terms, for quitting the finest kingdom in the world, to expose himself to the pride and insatiable avarice of the Roman grandees, and to suffer a thousand indignities. He did not scruple to tell him, that though he should sell all Egypt, he would not have sufficient to satisfy their avidity. He advised him therefore to return to Egypt, and reconcile himself with his subjects; adding, that he was ready to accompany him thither, and offering him his mediation and good offices.

Ptolemy, upon this discourse, recovered as out of a dream, and having maturely considered what the wise Roman had told him, perceived the error he had committed in quitting his kingdom, and entertained thoughts of returning to it. But the friends he had with him, being gained by Pompey to make him go to Rome, one may easily guess with what views, dissuaded him from following Cato's good counsel. He had time enough to repent it, when he found himself in that proud city, reduced to solicit his business from gate to gate, like a private person.

[m] Cæsar, upon whom his principal hopes were founded, was not at Rome; he was at that time making war in Gaul. But Pompey, who was there, gave him an apartment in his house, and omitted nothing to serve him. Besides the money he had received from that prince, in conjunction with Cæsar, Ptolemy had formerly cultivated his friendship by various services which he had rendered him during the war with

m Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97, 98. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. Cic. ad Famil. Id. in Piso. n. 48.—50, Id. pro Cæs. n. 23, 24.

Mithridates, and had maintained eight thousand horse for him in that of Judæa. Having therefore made his complaint to the senate of the rebellion of his subjects, he demanded that they should oblige them to return to their obedience, as the Romans were engaged to do by the alliance granted him. Pompey's factions obtained him their compliance. The consul Lentulus, to whom Cilicia, separated from Egypt only by the coast of Syria, had fallen by lot, was charged with the re-establishment of Ptolemy upon the throne.

[n] But before his consulship expired, the Egyptians, having been informed that their king was not dead, as they believed, and that he was gone to Rome, sent thither a solemn embassy, to justify the revolt before the senate. That embassy consisted of more than one hundred persons, of whom the chief was a celebrated philosopher, named Dion, who had considerable friends at Rome. Ptolemy, having received advice of this, found means to destroy most of those ambassadors, either by poison or the sword, and intimidated those so much, whom he could neither corrupt nor kill, that they were afraid either to acquit themselves of their commission, or to demand justice for so many murders. But as all the world knew this cruelty, it made him as highly odious as he was before contemptible; and his immense profusions, in gaining the poorest and most self-interested senators, became so public, that nothing else was talked of throughout the city.

So notorious a contempt of the laws, and such an excess of audacity, excited the indignation of all the persons of integrity in the senate. M. Favonius, the Stoic philosopher, was the first in it who declared himself against Ptolemy. Upon his request it was resolved, that Dion should be ordered to attend, in order to their knowing the truth from his own mouth. But the king's party, composed of that of Pompey and Lentulus, of such as he had corrupted with money, and of those who had lent him sums to corrupt others, acted so openly in his favour, that Dion did not dare to appear; and Ptolemy, having caused him also to be killed some small time after, though he who did the murder was accused juridically, the king was discharged of it, upon maintaining that he had just cause for the action.

Whether that prince thought that nothing further at Rome demanded his presence, or apprehended receiving some affront, hated as he was, if he continued there any longer, he set out

n A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57.

from thence some few days after, and retired to Ephesus, into the temple of the goddess, to wait there the decision of his destiny.

His affair, in effect, made more noise than ever at Rome. One of the tribunes of the people, named C. Cato, an active enterprising young man, who did not want eloquence, declared himself, in frequent harangues, against Ptolemy and Lentulus, and was hearkened to by the people with singular pleasure, and extraordinary applause.

o In order to put a new scheme in motion, he waited till the new consuls were elected, and as soon as Lentulus had quitted that office, he proposed to the people an oracle of the Sibyl's, which imported, "If a king of Egypt, having occa- "sion for aid, applies to you, you shall not refuse him your "amity; but, however, you shall not give him any troops; "for if you do, you will suffer and hazard much."

The usual form was to communicate this kind of oracles first to the senate, in order that it might be examined whether they were proper to be divulged. But Cato, apprehending that the king's faction might occasion the passing a resolution there to suppress this, which was so opposite to that prince, immediately presented the priests, with whom the sacred books were deposited, to the people, and obliged them, by the authority which his office as tribune gave him, to expose what they had found in them to the public, without demanding the senate's opinion.

This was a new stroke of thunder to Ptolemy and Lentulus. The words of the Sibyl were too express not to make all the impression upon the vulgar which their enemies desired: So that Lentulus, whose consulship was expired, not being willing to receive the affront to his face, of having the senate's decree revoked, by which he was appointed to reinstate Ptolemy, set out immediately for his province in quality of proconsul.

He was not deceived. Some days after, one of the new consuls, named Marcellinus, the declared enemy of Pompey, having proposed the oracle to the senate, it was decreed, that regard should be had to it, and that it appeared dangerous for the commonwealth to re-establish the king of Egypt by force.

We must not believe there was any person in the senate so simple, or rather so stupid, to have any faith in such an oracle.

o A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56.

Nobody doubted, but that it had been contrived for the present conjuncture, and was the work of some secret intrigue of policy. But it had been published and approved in the assembly of the people, credulous and superstitious to excess; and the senate could pass no other judgement upon it.

This new incident obliged Ptolemy to change his measures. Seeing that Lentulus had too many enemies at Rome, he abandoned the decree, by which he had been commissioned for his re-establishment, and demanding, by Ammonius his ambassador, whom he had left at Rome, that Pompey should be appointed to execute the same commission; because it not being possible to execute it with open force, upon account of the oracle, he judged with reason, that it was necessary to substitute in the room of force, a person of great authority; and Pompey was at that time at the highest pitch of his glory, from his success in having destroyed Mithridates, the greatest and most powerful king Asia had seen since Alexander.

The affair was deliberated upon in the senate, and debated with great vivacity by the different parties that rose up in it. [p] The difference of opinions caused several sittings to be lost without any determination. Cicero never quitted the interest of Lentulus, his intimate friend, who, during his consulship, had infinitely contributed to his being recalled from banishment. But what means was there to render him any service, in the condition things stood? And what could that proconsul do against a great kingdom, without using the force of arms, which was expressly forbidden by the oracle? In this manner thought people of little wit and subtlety, that were not used to consider things in different lights. The oracle only prohibited giving the king any troops for his re-establishment. Could not Lentulus have left him in some place near the frontiers, and went, however, with a good army to besiege Alexandria? After he had taken it, he might have returned, leaving a strong garrison in the place, and then sent the king thither, who would have found all things disposed for his reception, without violence or troops. This was Cicero's advice; to confirm which, I shall repeat his own words, taken from a letter wrote by him at that time to Lentulus. "You "are the best judge," says he, "as you are master of Cilicia "and Cyprus, of what you can undertake and effect. If it "seems practicable for you to take Alexandria, and possess

[p] Cic. ad Famil. l. 1. epist. 7.

" yourself of the rest of Egypt, it is without doubt both for " your own and the honour of the commonwealth, that you " should go thither with your fleet and army, leaving the " king at Ptolemais, or in some other neighbouring place; in " order that, after you have appeased the revolt, and left good " garrisons where necessary, that prince may safely return " thither. * In this manner you will reinstate him, according " to the senate's first decree, and he be restored without troops, " which our zealots assure us is the sense of the Sibyl." Would one believe that a grave magistrate, in an affair so important as that in the present question, should be capable of an evasion, which appears so little consistent with the integrity and probity upon which Cicero valued himself? It was because he reckoned the oracle only pretended to be the Sibyl's, as indeed it was, that is to say, a mere contrivance and imposture.

Lentulus, stopped by the difficulties of that enterprise, which were great and real, was afraid to engage in it, and took the advice Cicero gave him in the conclusion of his letter, where he represented, " That all † the world would " judge of his conduct from the event: that therefore he had " only to take his measures so well, as to assure his success, " and that otherwise he would do better not to undertake it."

Gabinius, who commanded in Syria in the quality of proconsul, was less apprehensive and cautious. Though every proconsul was prohibited by an express law to quit his province, or declare any war whatsoever, even upon the nearest border, without an express order of the senate, he had marched to the aid of Mithridates, prince of Parthia, expelled Media by the king his brother, which kingdom had fallen to him by division. q He had already passed the Euphrates with his army for that purpose, when Ptolemy joined him with letters from Pompey, their common friend and patron, who had very lately been declared consul for the year ensuing. By those letters he conjured Gabinius to do his utmost in favour of the proposals that prince should make him, with regard to

q A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55. App. in Syr. p. 120. et in Parth. p. 134. Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

* Ita fore ut per te restituatur, quemadmodum initio senatus censuit; et sine multitudine reducatur, quemadmodum homines, religiosi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt.

† Ex eventu homines de tuo consilio esse judicaturos, videmus.—Nos quidem hoc sentimus; si exploratum tibi sit, posse te illius regno potiri, non esse conctandum: sin dubium, non esse conandum.

his re-establishment in his kingdom. However dangerous that conduct might be, the authority of Pompey, and still more the hope of considerable gain, made Gabinius begin to waver. The lively remonstrances of Antony, who sought occasions to signalize himself, and was besides inclined to please Ptolemy, whose intreaties flattered his ambition, fully determined him. This was the famous Mark Antony, who afterwards formed the second triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus. Gabinius had engaged him to follow him into Syria, by giving him the command of his cavalry. The more dangerous the enterprise, the more right Gabinius thought he had to make Ptolemy pay dear for it. The latter, who found no difficulty in agreeing to any terms, offered him for himself and the army ten thousand talents, or one million five hundred thousand pounds, the greatest part to be advanced immediately in ready money, and the rest as soon as he should be reinstated. Gabinius accepted the offer without hesitation.

[r] Egypt had continued under the government of queen Berenice. As soon as she ascended the throne, the Egyptians had sent to offer the crown and Berenice to Antiochus Asiaticus in Syria, who, on his mother Selena's side, was the nearest heir-male. The ambassadors found him dead, and returned; they brought an account, that his brother Seleucus, surnamed Cybiosactes, was still alive. The same offers were made to him, which he accepted. He was a prince of mean and sordid inclinations, and had no thoughts but of amassing money. His first care was to cause the body of Alexander the Great to be put into a coffin of glass, in order to seize that of gold, in which it had lain untouched till then. This action, and many others of a like nature, having rendered him equally odious to his queen and subjects, she caused him to be strangled soon after. He was the last prince of the race of the Seleucides. She afterwards espoused Archelaus, high-priest of Comana in Pontus, who called himself the son of the great Mithridates, though, in effect, only the son of that prince's chief general.

[s] Gabinius, after having repassed the Euphrates, and crossed Palestine, marched directly into Egypt. What was most to be feared in this war, was the way by which they must necessarily march to Pelusium; for they could not avoid pass-

r Strab. l. xii. p. 538. Id. l. xvii. p. 794, et 796. Dion. l. xxxix. p. 115.—117. Cic. in Pison. n. 49, 50.

r Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

ing plains covered with sands of such a depth as was terrible to think on, and so dry, that there was not a single drop of water the whole length of the moors of Serbonida. Antony, who was sent before with the horse, not only seized the passes, but having taken Pelusium, the key of Egypt on that side, with the whole garrison, he made the way secure for the rest of his army, and gave his general great hopes of the expedition.

The enemy found considerable advantage in the desire of glory which possessed Antony; for Ptolemy was no sooner entered Pelusium, than, out of the violence of his hate and resentment, he would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sword. But Antony, who rightly judged that act of cruelty would revert upon himself, opposed it, and prevented Ptolemy from executing his design. In all the battles and encounters which immediately followed one another, he not only gave proofs of his great valour, but distinguished himself by all the conduct of a great general.

As soon as Gabinius received advice of Antony's good success, he entered the heart of Egypt. It was in winter, when the waters of the Nile are very low, the properest time in consequence for the conquest of it. Archelaus, who was brave, able, and experienced, did all that could be done in his defence, and disputed his ground very well with the enemy. After he quitted the city, in order to march against the Romans, when it was necessary to encamp, and break ground for the intrenchments, the Egyptians, accustomed to live an idle and voluptuous life, raised an outcry, that Archelaus should employ the mercenaries in such work, at the expence of the public. What could be expected from such troops in a battle? They were, in effect, soon put to the rout. Archelaus was killed, fighting valiantly. Antony, who had been his particular friend and guest, having found his body upon the field of battle, adorned it in a royal manner, and solemnized his obsequies with great magnificence. By this action he left behind him a great name in Alexandria, and acquired amongst the Romans who served with him in this war, the reputation of a man of singular valour and exceeding generosity.

Egypt was soon reduced, and obliged to receive Auletes, who took entire possession of his dominions. In order to strengthen him in it, Gabinius left him some Roman troops for the guard of his person. These troops contracted at Alexandria the manners and customs of the country, and

gave into the luxury and effeminacy which reigned there in almost every city. Auletes put his daughter Berenice to death, for having worn the crown during his exile; and afterwards got rid, in the same manner, of all the rich persons who had been of the adverse party to him. He had occasion for the confiscation of their estates, to make up the sum he had promised to Gabinius, to whose aid he was indebted for his re-establishment.

[t] The Egyptians suffered all those violences without murmuring; but some days after, a Roman soldier having accidentally killed a cat, neither the fear of Gabinius, nor the authority of Ptolemy, could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces upon the spot, to avenge the insult done to the gods of the country; for cats were of that number.

[u] Nothing farther is known in relation to the life of Ptolemy Auletes, except that C. Rabirius Posthumus, who had either lent him, or caused to be lent him, the greatest part of the sums he had borrowed at Rome, having gone to him, in order to his being paid when he was entirely reinstated; that prince gave him to understand, that he despaired of satisfying him, unless he would consent to take upon him the care of his revenues; by which means he might reimburse himself by little and little with his own hands. The unfortunate creditor having accepted that offer, out of fear of losing his debt if he refused it, the king soon found a colour for causing him to be imprisoned, though one of the oldest and dearest of Cæsar's friends, and though Pompey was in some measure security for the debt, as the money was lent, and the obligations executed, in his presence, and by his procurement, in a country-house of his near Alba.

Rabirius thought himself too happy in being able to escape from prison and Egypt, more miserable than he went thither. To complete his disgrace, he was prosecuted in form as soon as he returned to Rome, for having aided Ptolemy in corrupting the senate, by the sums he had lent him for that use; of having dishonoured his quality of Roman knight, by the employment he had accepted in Egypt; and lastly, of having shared in the money which Gabinius brought from thence, with whom it was alleged he had a fellow-feeling. Cicero's discourse in his defence, which we still have, is an eternal monument of the ingratitude and perfidy of this unworthy king.

[t] Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 74, 75. [u] Cic. pro. Rabir. Posth.

[x] Ptolemy Auletes died in the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Egypt, about four years after his re-establishment. He left two sons and two daughters. He gave his crown to the eldest son and daughter, and ordered by his will, that they should marry together, according to the custom of that house, and govern jointly. And because they were both very young, for the daughter, who was the eldest, was only seventeen years of age, he left them under the tuition of the Roman senate. This was the famous Cleopatra, whose history it remains for us to relate. [y] We find the people appointed Pompey the young king's guardian, who some years after so basely ordered him to be put to death.

SECTION II.

CLEOPATRA EXPELLED THE THRONE; BUT IS AFTERWARDS, WITH HER YOUNGER BROTHER, RE-ESTABLISHED. POMPEY ASSASSINATED.

LITTLE [z] is known of the beginning of Cleopatra's and her brother's reign. That prince was a minor, under the tuition of Pothinus the eunuch, and of Achillas the general of his army. Those two ministers, no doubt to engross all affairs to themselves, had deprived Cleopatra, in the king's name, of the share in the sovereignty left her by the will of Auletes. Injured in this manner, she went into Syria and Palestine to raise troops in those countries, in order to assert her rights by force of arms.

It was exactly at this conjuncture of the difference between the brother and sister, that Pompey, after having lost the battle of Pharsalia, fled to Egypt; conceiving that he should find there an open and assured asylum in his misfortunes. He had been the protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning king, and it was solely to his credit he was indebted for his re-establishment. He was in hopes of finding the son grateful, and of being powerfully assisted by him. When he arrived, Ptolemy was upon the coast with his army, between Pelusium and mount Casius, and Cleopatra, at no great distance, at the head of her troops also. Pompey, on approaching the coast,

x A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cæsar de Bello Civ. l. iii.
y Eutrop. l. vi.
z A. M. 3956. Ant. J. C. 48. Plut. in Pomp. p. 659.—662. Id. in Cæs. p. 730, 731. Appian. de Bell. Civ. p. 480.—484. Cæs. de Bell. Civ. l. iii. Diod. l. xlii. p. 200.—206.

sent to Ptolemy to demand permission to land, and enter his kingdom.

The two ministers, Pothinus and Achillas, consulted with Theodotus the rhetorician, the young king's preceptor, and with some others, what answer they should make; Pompey, in the mean time, waited the result of that council, and chose rather to expose himself to the decision of the three unworthy persons that governed the prince, than to owe his safety to Cæsar, who was his father-in-law, and the greatest of the Romans. This council differed in opinion; some were for receiving him, others for having him told to seek a retreat elsewhere. Theodotus approved neither of these methods; and displaying all his eloquence, undertook to demonstrate, that there was no other choice to be made than that of ridding the world of him. His reason was, because if they received him, Cæsar would never forgive the having assisted his enemy; if they sent him away without aid, and affairs should take a turn in his favour, he would not fail to revenge himself upon them for their refusal; and therefore there was no security for them, but in putting him to death; by which means they would gain Cæsar's friendship, and prevent the other from ever doing them any hurt; for, said he, according to the proverb, "Dead men do not bite."

This advice carried it, as being, in their sense, the wisest and most safe. Septimus, a Roman officer in the service of the king of Egypt, and some others, were charged with putting it in execution. They went to take Pompey on board a shallop, under the pretext that great vessels could not approach the shore without difficulty. The troops were drawn up on the sea-side, as with design to do honour to Pompey, with Ptolemy at their head. The perfidious Septimus tendered his hand to Pompey, in the name of his master, and bade him come to a king, his friend, whom he ought to regard as his ward and son. Pompey then embraced his wife Cornelia, who was already in tears for his death; and after having repeated these verses of Sophocles, "Every man that enters the "court of a tyrant becomes his slave, though free before," he went into the shallop. When they saw themselves near the shore, they stabbed him before the king's eyes, cut off his head, and threw his body upon the strand, where it had no other funeral than what one of his freed-men gave it, with the assistance of an old Roman who was there by chance. They raised him a wretched funeral pile, and covered him with

some fragments of an old wreck that had been driven ashore there.

Cornelia had seen Pompey massacred before her eyes. It is easier to imagine the condition of a woman in the height of grief from so tragical an object, than to describe it. Those who were in her galley, and in two other ships in company with it, made the coast resound with the cries they raised, and weighing anchor immediately, set sail before the wind, which blew fresh as soon as they got out to sea. This prevented the Egyptians, who were getting ready to chase them, from pursuing their design.

Cæsar made all possible haste to arrive in Egypt, whither he suspected Pompey had retired, and where he was in hopes of finding him alive. That he might be there the sooner, he carried very few troops with him; only eight hundred horse, and three thousand two hundred foot. He left the rest of his army in Greece and Asia Minor, under his lieutenant-generals, with orders to make all the advantages of his victory it would admit, and to establish his áuthority in all those countries *. As for his person, confiding in his reputation, and the success of his arms at Pharsalia, and reckoning all places secure for him, he made no scruple to land at Alexandria with the few people he had. He was very nigh paying dear for his temerity.

Upon his arrival, he was informed of Pompey's death, and found the city in great confusion. Theodotus, believing he should do him an exceeding pleasure, presented him the head of that illustrious fugitive. He wept at seeing it, and turned away his eyes from a spectacle that gave him horror. He even caused it to be interred with all the usual solemnities. And the better to express his esteem for Pompey, and the respect he had for his memory, he received with great kindness, and loaded with favours, all who had adhered to him then in Egypt; and wrote to his friends at Rome, that the highest and most grateful advantage of this victory, was to find every day some new occasion to preserve the lives, and do services to some citizens who had borne arms against him.

The commotions increased every day at Alexandria, and abundance of murders were committed there; the city having neither law nor government, because without a master. Cæsar, perceiving that the small number of troops with him were far from being sufficient to awe an insolent and seditious po-

* Cæsar confisus fama rerum gestarum, infirmis auxiliis proficisci non dubitaverit; atque omnem sibi locum tutum fore existimabat.—Cæs.

pulace, gave orders for the legions he had in Asia to march thither. It was not in his power to leave Egypt, because of the Etesian winds, which in that country blow continually in the dog-days, and prevent all vessels from quitting Alexandria; those winds are then always full north. Not to lose time, he demanded the payment of the money due to him from Auletes, and took cognizance of the difference between Pompey and his sister Cleopatra.

We have seen, that when Cæsar was consul for the first time, Auletes had gained him by the promise of six thousand talents, and by that means had assured himself of the throne, and been declared the friend and ally of the Romans. The king had paid him only a part of that sum, and had given him an obligation for the remainder.

Cæsar therefore demanded what was unpaid, which he wanted for the subsistence of his troops, and exacted with rigour. Pothinus, Ptolemy's first minister, employed various stratagems to make this rigour appear still greater than it really was. He plundered the temples of all the gold and silver to be found in them, and made the king, and all the great persons of the kingdom, eat out of earthen or wooden vessels; insinuating underhand, that Cæsar had seized upon all their silver and gold plate, in order to render him odious to the populace by such reports, which did not want appearance, though entirely groundless.

But what finally incensed the Egyptians against Cæsar, and made them at last take arms, was the haughtiness with which he acted as judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in causing them to be cited to appear before him, for the decision of their difference. We shall soon see upon what he founded his authority for proceeding in that manner. He therefore decreed in form, that they should disband their armies, should appear and plead their cause before him, and receive such sentence as he should pass between them. This order was looked upon in Egypt as a violation of the royal dignity, which being independent, acknowledged no superior, and could be judged by no tribunal. Cæsar replied to these complaints, that he acted only in virtue of being arbitrator by the will of Auletes, who had put his children under the tuition of the senate and people of Rome, of which the whole authority then vested in his person, in quality of consul; that as guardian, he had a right to arbitrate between them; and that all he pretended to, as executor of the will, was to establish peace between the brother and sister. This explanation having faci-

litated the affair, it was at length brought before Cæsar, and advocates were chosen to plead the cause.

But Cleopatra, who knew Cæsar's foible, believed her presence would be more persuasive than any advocate she could employ with her judge. She caused him to be told, that she perceived that those she employed in her behalf betrayed her, and demanded his permission to appear in person. Plutarch says, it was Cæsar himself who pressed her to come and plead her cause.

That princess took nobody with her, of all her friends, but Appollodorus the Sicilian, got into a little boat, and arrived at the bottom of the walls of the citadel of Alexandria, when it was quite dark, at night. Finding that there was no means of entering without being known, she thought of this stratagem. She laid herself at length in the midst of a bundle of clothes. Appollodorus wrapt it up in a cloth, tied it up with a thong, and in that manner carried it through the port of the citadel to Cæsar's apartment, who was far from being displeased with the stratagem. The first sight of so beautiful a person had all the effect upon him she had desired.

Cæsar sent the next day for Ptolemy, and pressed him to take her again, and be reconciled with her. Ptolemy saw plainly that his judge was become his adversary; and having learned that his sister was then in the palace, and in Cæsar's own apartment, he quitted it in the utmost fury, and in the open street took the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground; crying out, with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and relating the circumstances to the multitude who assembled round him. In a moment, the whole city was in motion. He put himself at the head of the populace, and led them on tumultuously to charge Cæsar with all the fury natural on such occasions.

The Roman soldiers, whom Cæsar had with him, secured the person of Ptolemy. But as all the rest, who knew nothing of what passed, were dispersed in the several quarters of that great city, Cæsar had infallibly been overpowered, and torn to pieces by that furious populace, if he had not had the presence of mind to shew himself to them from a part of the palace, so high that he had nothing to fear upon it; from hence he assured them, that they would be fully satisfied with the judgement he should pass. Those promises appeased the Egyptians a little.

The next day he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra into an assembly of the people, summoned by his order. After having caused the will of the late king to be read, he decreed

as tutor and arbitrator, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign jointly in Egypt, according to the intent of that will; and that Ptolemy the younger son, and Arsinoe the younger daughter, should reign in Cyprus. He added the last article to appease the people; for it was purely a gift he made them, as the Romans were actually in possession of that island. But he feared the effects of the Alexandrians' fury; and to extricate himself out of danger, was the reason of his making that concession.

[a] The whole world were satisfied and charmed with this decree, except only Pothinus. As it was he who had occasioned the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and the expulsion of that princess from the throne, he had reason to apprehend, that the consequences of this accommodation would prove fatal to him. To prevent the effect of Cæsar's decree, he inspired the people with new subjects of jealousy and discontent. He gave out, that Cæsar had only granted this decree by force, and through fear, which would not long subsist; and that his true design was to place only Cleopatra upon the throne. This was what the Egyptians exceedingly feared, not being able to endure that a woman should govern them alone, and have all authority to herself. When he saw that the people came into his views, he made Achillas advance at the head of the army from Pelusium, in order to drive Cæsar out of Alexandria. The approach of that army put all things into their first confusion. Achillas, who had twenty thousand good troops, despised Cæsar's small number, and believed he should overpower him immediately. But Cæsar posted his men so well in the streets, and upon the avenues of the quarter in his possession, that he found no difficulty in supporting their attack.

When they saw they could not force him, they changed their measures, and marched towards the port, with design to make themselves masters of the fleet, to cut off his communication with the sea, and to prevent him, in consequence, from receiving succours and convoys on that side. But Cæsar again frustrated their design, by causing the Egyptian fleet to be set on fire, and by possessing himself of the tower of Pharos, which he garrisoned. By this means he preserved and secured his communication with the sea, without which he had been ruined effectually. Some of the vessels on fire came so near the quay, that the flames catched the neighbouring

a A. M. 3957. Ant. J. C. 47.

houses, from whence they spread throughout the whole quarter called Bruchion. It was at this time the famous library was consumed, which had been the work of so many kings, and in which there were four hundred thousand volumes. What a loss was this to literature!

Cæsar, seeing so dangerous a war upon his hands, sent into all the neighbouring countries for aid. He wrote, amongst others, to Domitius Calvinius, whom he had left to command in Asia Minor, and signified to him his danger. That general immediately detached two legions, the one by land, and the other by sea. That which went by sea arrived in time; the other, that marched by land, did not go thither at all. Before it had got there, the war was at an end. But Cæsar was best served by Mithridates the Pergamenian, whom he sent into Syria and Cilicia; for he brought him the troops which extricated him out of danger, as we shall see in the sequel.

Whilst he waited the aids he had sent for, that he might not fight an army so superior in number till he thought fit, he caused the quarter in his possession to be fortified. He surrounded it with walls, and flanked it with towers and other works. Those lines included the palace, a theatre very near it, which he made use of as a citadel, and the way that led to the port.

Ptolemy all this while was in Cæsar's hands; and Pothinus, his governor and first minister, who was of intelligence with Achillas, gave him advice of all that passed, and encouraged him to push the siege with vigour. One of his letters was at last intercepted; and his treason being thereby discovered, Cæsar ordered him to be put to death.

Ganymedes, another eunuch of the palace, who educated Arsinoe, the youngest of the king's sisters, apprehending the same fate, because he had shared in that treason, carried off the young princess, and escaped into the camp of the Egyptians; who not having, till then, any of the royal family at their head, were overjoyed at her presence, and proclaimed her queen. But Ganymedes, who entertained thoughts of supplanting Achillas, caused that general to be accused of having given up that fleet to Cæsar that had been set on fire by the Romans, which occasioned that general's being put to death, and the command of the army to be transferred to him. He took also upon him the administration of all other affairs, and undoubtedly did not want capacity for the employment of a prime minister, probity only excepted, which

is often reckoned little or no qualification; for he had all the necessary penetration and activity, and contrived a thousand artful stratagems to distress Cæsar during the continuance of this war.

For instance, he found means to spoil all the fresh water in his quarter, and was very near destroying him by that means; for there was no other fresh water in Alexandria, but that of the Nile. * In every house were vaulted reservoirs, where it was kept. Every year, upon the great swell of the Nile, the water of that river came in by a canal, which had been cut for that use, and by a sluice made on purpose, was turned into the vaulted reservoirs, which were the cisterns of the city, where it grew clear by degrees. The masters of houses and their families drank of this water; but the poorer sort of people were forced to drink the running water, which was muddy and very unwholesome; for there were no springs in the city. Those caverns were made in such a manner, that they all had communication with each other. This provision of water served for the whole year. Every house had an opening, not unlike the mouth of a well, through which the water was taken up either in buckets or pitchers. Ganymedes caused all the communications with the caverns in the quarter of Cæsar to be stopped up; and then found means to turn the sea-water into the latter, and thereby spoiled all his fresh water. As soon as they perceived that the water was spoiled, Cæsar's soldiers made such a noise, and raised such a tumult, that he would have been obliged to abandon his quarter, very much to his disadvantage, if he had not immediately thought of ordering wells to be sunk, where, at last, springs were found, which supplied them with water enough to make them amends for that which was spoiled.

After that, upon Cæsar's receiving advice that the legion Calvinius had sent by sea was arrived upon the coast of Libya, which was not very distant, he advanced with his whole fleet to convoy it safely to Alexandria. Ganymedes was apprised of this, and immediately assembled all the Egyptian ships he could get, in order to attack him upon his return. A battle actually ensued between the two fleets. Cæsar had the advantage, and brought his legion without danger into the port of Alexandria; and, had not the night come on, the ships of the enemy would not have escaped.

* There are to this day exactly the same kind of caves at Alexandria, which are filled once a-year, as of old.—Thevenot's Travels.

To repair that loss, Ganymedes drew together all the ships in the mouths of the Nile, and formed a new fleet, with which he entered the port of Alexandria. A second action was unavoidable. The Alexandrians climbed in throngs to the tops of the houses next to the port, to be spectators of the fight, and expected the success with fear and trembling; lifting up their hands to heaven, to implore the assistance of the gods. The all of the Romans was at stake, to whom there was no resource left, if they lost this battle. Cæsar was again victorious. The Rhodians, by their valour and skill in naval affairs, contributed exceedingly to this victory.

Cæsar, to make the best of it, endeavoured to seize the isle of Pharos, where he landed his troops after the battle, and to possess himself of the mole, called the Heptastadion, by which it was joined to the continent. But after having obtained several advantages, he was repulsed with the loss of more than eight hundred men, and was very near falling himself in his retreat; for the ship in which he had designed to get off, being ready to sink with the too great number of people who had entered it with him, he threw himself into the sea, and with great difficulty swam to the next ship. Whilst he was in the sea, he held one hand above the water, in which were papers of consequence, and swam with the other; so that they were not spoiled.

The Alexandrians, seeing that ill success itself only served to give Cæsar's troops new courage, entertained thoughts of making peace, or at least dissembled such a disposition. They sent deputies to demand their king of him; assuring him, that his presence alone would put an end to all differences. Cæsar, who well knew their subtile and deceitful character, was not at a loss to comprehend their professions; but as he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's person, and if they failed in their promises, the fault would be entirely on their side, he thought it incumbent on him to grant their demand. He exhorted the young prince to take the advantage of this opportunity to inspire his subjects with sentiments of peace and equity; to redress the evils with which a war, very imprudently undertaken, distressed his dominions; to approve himself worthy of the confidence he reposed in him, by giving him his liberty; and to shew his gratitude for the services he had rendered his father. * Ptolemy, early instructed by his

* Regius animus disciplinis fallacissimis eruditus, ne a gentis suæ moribus generaret, flens orare contra Cæsarem cœpit, ne se demitteret: non enim regnum ipsum sibi conspectu Cæsaris esse jucundius.—Hirtius de Bell. Alex.

masters in the art of dissimulation and deceit, begged of Cæsar with tears in his eyes, not to deprive him of his presence, which was a much greater satisfaction to him than to reign over others. The sequel soon explained how much sincerity there was in those tears and professions of amity. He was no sooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigour than ever. The Egyptians endeavoured, by the means of their fleet, to cut off Cæsar's provisions entirely. This occasioned a new fight at sea near Canopus, in which Cæsar was again victorious. When this battle was fought, Mithridates of Pergamus was upon the point of arriving with the army which he was bringing to the aid of Cæsar.

[b] He had been sent into Syria and Cilicia, to assemble all the troops he could, and to march them to Egypt. He acquitted himself of his commission with such diligence and prudence, that he had soon formed a considerable army. Antipater, the Idumæan, contributed very much towards it. He had not only joined him with three thousand Jews, but engaged several neighbouring princes of Arabia and Cœlosyria to send him troops. Mithridates, with Antipater, who accompanied him in person, marched into Egypt, and upon arriving before Pelusium, they carried that place by storm. They were indebted principally to Antipater's bravery for the taking of this city; for he was the first that mounted the breach, and got upon the wall, and thereby opened the way for those who followed him to carry the town.

On their route from thence to Alexandria, it was necessary to pass through the country of Onion, of which the Jews who inhabited it had seized all the passes. The army was there put to a stand, and their whole design was upon the point of miscarrying, if Antipater, by his credit, and that of Hyrcanus, from whom he brought them letters, had not engaged them to espouse Cæsar's party. Upon the spreading of that news, the Jews of Memphis did the same, and Mithridates received from both all the provisions his army had occasion for. When they were near Delta, Ptolemy detached a flying army to dispute the passage of the Nile with them. A battle was fought in consequence. Mithridates put himself at the head of part of his army, and gave the command of the other to Antipater. Mithridates's wing was soon broke, and obliged to give way; but Antipater, who had defeated the enemy on his side, came to his relief. The battle

b Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 14, 15.

began afresh, and the enemy were defeated. Mithridates and Antipater pursued them, made a great slaughter, and regained the field of battle. They took even the enemy's camp, and obliged those who remained to escape, by repassing the Nile.

Ptolemy then advanced with his whole army, in order to overpower the victors. Cæsar also marched to support them; and as soon as he had joined them, came directly to a decisive battle, in which he obtained a complete victory. Ptolemy, in endeavouring to escape in a boat, was drowned in the Nile. Alexandria, and all Egypt, submitted to the victor.

Cæsar returned to Alexandria about the middle of January; and not finding any further opposition to his orders, gave the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with Ptolemy her other brother. This was in effect giving it to Cleopatra alone; for that young prince was only eleven years old. The passion which Cæsar had conceived for that princess, was properly the sole cause of his embarking in so dangerous a war. He had by her one son, called Cæsario, whom Augustus caused to be put to death, when he became master of Alexandria. His affection for Cleopatra kept him much longer in Egypt than his affairs required: for though every thing was settled in that kingdom by the end of January, he did not leave it till the end of April, according to Appian, who says he staid there nine months. He arrived there only about the end of July the year before.

[c] Cæsar passed whole nights in feasting with Cleopatra. Having embarked with her upon the Nile, he carried her through the whole country with a numerous fleet, and would have penetrated into Ethiopia, if his army had not refused to follow him. He had resolved to have her brought to Rome, and to marry her; and intended to have caused a law to pass in the assembly of the people, by which the citizens of Rome should be permitted to marry such, and as many wives as they thought fit. Marius Cinna, the tribune of the people, declared, after his death, that he had prepared an harangue, in order to propose that law to the people, not being able to refuse his offices to the earnest solicitation of Cæsar.

He carried Arsinoe, whom he had taken in this war, to Rome, and she walked in his triumph in chains of gold; but immediately after that solemnity, he set her at liberty. He did not permit her, however, to return into Egypt, lest her

c Sueton. in J. Cæs c. 52.

presence should occasion new troubles, and frustrate the regulations he had made in that kingdom. She chose the province of Asia for her residence; at least it was there Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and caused her to be put to death, at the instigation of her sister Cleopatra.

Before he left Alexandria, Cæsar, in gratitude for the aid he had received from the Jews, caused all the privileges they enjoyed to be confirmed, and ordered a column to be erected, on which, by his command, all those privileges were engraven, with the decree of confirming them.

[d] What at length made him quit Egypt, was the war with Pharnaces king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and son of Mithridates the last king of Pontus. He fought a great battle with him near the city of Zela *, defeated his whole army, and drove him out of the kingdom of Pontus. To denote the rapidity of his conquest, in writing to one of his friends, he made use of only these three words, "Veni, vidi, vici;" that is to say, "I came, I saw, I conquered."

SECTION III.

CLEOPATRA REIGNS ALONE. DEATH OF JULIUS CÆSAR. TRAGICAL END OF ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

Cæsar, after the war of Alexandria, had set Cleopatra upon the throne, and, for form only, had associated her brother with her, who at that time was only eleven years of age. During his minority, all power was in her hands [e]. When he attained his fifteenth year, which was the time when, according to the laws of the country, he was to govern for himself, and have a share in the royal authority, she poisoned him, and remained sole queen of Egypt.

In this interval, Cæsar had been killed at Rome by the conspirators, at the head of which were Brutus and Cassius; and the triumvirate between Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius Cæsar, had been formed, to avenge the death of Cæsar.

[f] Cleopatra declared herself without hesitation for the triumvirs. She gave Albienus, the consul Dolabella's lieutenant, four legions, which were the remains of Pompey's and Crassus's armies, and were part of the troops Cæsar had left

d Plut. in Cæs. p. 731.

e A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43. Joseph. Antiq. xv. c. 4. Porphyr. p. 226.

f Appian. l. 3. p. 577. l. iv. p. 623. l. v. p. 675.

* This was a city of Cappadocia.

with her for the guard of Egypt. She had also a fleet in readiness for sailing, but prevented by storms from setting out. [f] Cassius made himself master of these four legions, and frequently solicited Cleopatra for aid, which she as often refused. She sailed some time after with a numerous fleet to join Antony and Octavius. A violent storm occasioned the loss of a great number of her ships, and falling sick, she was obliged to return into Egypt.

[g] Antony, after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius in the battle of Philippi, having passed over into Asia, in order to establish the authority of the triumvirate there, the kings, princes, and ambassadors of the East, came thither in throngs to make their court to him. He was informed, that the governors of Phœnicia, which was in the dependence of the kingdom of Egypt, had sent Cassius aid against Dolabella. He cited Cleopatra before him, to answer for the conduct of her governors; and sent one of his lieutenants to oblige her to come to him in Cilicia, whither hew as going to assemble the states of that province. That step became very fatal to Antony in its effects, and occasioned his ruin. His love for Cleopatra having awakened passions in him, till then concealed or asleep, inflamed them even to madness, and finally deadened and extinguished the few sparks of honour and virtue he might perhaps still retain.

Cleopatra, assured of her charms, by the proof she had already so successfully made of them upon Julius Cæsar, was in hopes that she could also very easily captivate Antony: and the more, because the former had known her only when she was very young, and had no experience of the world; whereas she was going to appear before Antony at an age wherein women, with the bloom of their beauty, unite the whole force of wit and address to treat and conduct the greatest affairs. Cleopatra was at that time five-and-twenty years old. She provided herself therefore with exceeding rich presents, great sums of money, and especially the most magnificent habits and ornaments; and with still higher hopes in her attractions, and the graces of her person, more powerful than dress, or even gold, she began her voyage.

Upon her way, she received several letters from Antony, who was at Tarsus, and from his friends, pressing her to hasten her journey; but she only laughed at their instances, and

f A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42.

g A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. Plut. in Anton. p. 926, 927. Diod. l. xlviii. p. 371. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 671.

used never the more diligence for them. After having crossed the sea of Pamphylia, she entered the Cydnus: and going up that river, landed at Tarsus. Never was equipage more splendid and magnificent than her's. The whole poop of her ship flamed with gold; the sails were purple, and the oars inlaid with silver. A pavilion of cloth of gold was raised upon the deck, under which appeared the queen, robed like Venus, and surrounded with the most beautiful virgins of her court, of whom some represented the Nereids, and others the Graces. Instead of trumpets were heard flutes, hautboys, harps, and other such instruments of music, warbling the softest airs, to which the oars kept time, and rendered the harmony more agreeable. Perfumes burned on the deck, which spread their odours to a great distance upon the river, and on each side of its banks, that were covered with an infinitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn thither.

As soon as her arrival was known, the whole people of Tarsus went out to meet her; so that Antony, who at that time was giving audience, saw his tribunal abandoned by all the world, and not a single person with him but his lictors and domestics. A rumour was spread, that it was the goddess Venus, who came in masquerade to make Bacchus a visit for the good of Asia.

She was no sooner landed, than Antony sent to compliment and invite her to supper. But she answered his deputies, that she should be very glad to regale him herself; and that she would expect him in the tents she had caused to be got ready upon the banks of the river. He made no difficulty to go thither, and found the preparations of a magnificence not to be expressed. He admired particularly the beauty of the branches, which had been disposed with abundance of art, and were so luminous, that they made midnight seem agreeable day.

Antony invited her, in his turn, for the next day. But whatever endeavours he had used to exceed her in his entertainment, he confessed himself overcome, as well in the splendour as disposition of the feast, and was the first to rally the parsimony and plainness of his own in comparison with the sumptuosity and elegance of Cleopatra's. The queen, finding nothing but what was gross in the pleasantries of Antony, and more expressive of the soldier than the courtier, repaid him in his own coin; but with so much wit and grace, that he was not in the least offended at it. For the beauties and charms of her conversation, attended with all

possible sweetness and gaiety, had attractions in them still more irresistible than her form and features, and left such incentives in the heart, the very soul, as were not easily conceivable. She charmed whenever she but spoke, such music and harmony were in her utterance, and the very sound of her voice.

Little or no mention was made of the complaints against Cleopatra, which were besides without foundation. She struck Antony so violently with her charms, and gained so absolute an ascendant over him, that he could refuse her nothing. It was at this time he caused Arsinoe her sister to be put to death, who had taken refuge in the temple of Diana at Miletus, as in a secure asylum.

[h] Great feasts were made every day. Some new banquet still outdid that which preceded it, and she seemed to study to excel herself. Antony, in a feast which she made, was astonished at seeing the riches displayed on all sides, and especially at the great number of golden cups enriched with jewels, and wrought by the most excellent workmen. She told him, with a disdainful air, that those were but trifles, and made him a present of them. The next day the banquet was still more superb. Antony, according to custom, had brought a good number of guests along with him, all officers of rank and distinction. She gave them all the vessels and plate of gold and silver used at the entertainment.

Without doubt, in one of these feasts happened what Pliny, and after him Macrobius, relate. Cleopatra jested, according to custom, upon Antony's table, as very indifferently served, and inelegant. Piqued with the raillery, he asked her with some warmth, what she thought would add to its magnificence? Cleopatra answered coldly, that she would expend more * than one million of livres upon one supper. He affirmed that she only boasted; that it was impossible; and that she could never make it appear. The wager was laid, and Plancus was to decide it. The next day they came to the banquet. The service was magnificent, but had nothing so very extraordinary in it. Antony calculated the expence, demanded of the queen the price of the several dishes, and with an air of raillery, as secure of victory, told her, that they were still far from a million. Stay, said the queen, this is only a

h Athen. l. iv. p. 147, 148.

* Centies H. S. Hoc est centies centena millies sestertium. "Which amounted "to more than one million of livres, or fifty-two thousand five hundred pounds "sterling."

beginning, I shall try whether I cannot spend a million upon myself. * A second table was brought; and according to the order she had before given, nothing was set on it but a single cup of vinegar. Antony, surprised at such a preparation, could not imagine for what it was intended. Cleopatra had at her ears two of the finest pearls that ever were seen, each of which was valued at about fifty thousand pounds. One of these pearls she took off, threw it into the vinegar †, and after having made it melt, swallowed it. She was preparing to do as much by the other ‡; Plancus stopped her, and deciding the wager in her favour, declared Antony overcome. Plancus was much in the wrong to envy the queen the singular and peculiar glory of having devoured two millions in two cups.

[i] Antony was embroiled with Cæsar. Whilst his wife Fulvia was very active at Rome in supporting his interests, and the army of the Parthians was upon the point of entering Syria, as if those things did not concern him, he suffered himself to be drawn away by Cleopatra to Alexandria, where they passed their time in games, amusements, and voluptuousness, treating each other every day at excessive and incredible expences; which may be judged of from the following circumstance.

[k] A young Greek, who went to Alexandria to study physic, upon the great noise those feasts made, had the curiosity to assure himself with his own eyes about them. Having been admitted into Antony's kitchen, he saw, amongst other things, eight wild boars roasting whole at the same time. Upon which he expressed surprise at the great number of guests that he supposed were to be at this supper. One of the officers could not forbear laughing, and told him, that they were not so many as he imagined, and that there could

i A. M. 3964. Ant. J. C. 40. k Plut. in Anton. p. 928.

* The ancients changed their tables at every course.

† "Vinegar is of force to melt the hardest things." "Aceti succus domitor rerum," as Pliny says of it, l. xxxiii. c. 3. Cleopatra had not the glory of the invention. Before, to the disgrace of royalty, the son of a comedian, (Clodius the son of Æsopus), had done something of the same kind, and often swallowed pearls melted in that manner, from the sole pleasure of making the expence of his meals enormous.

Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ,
Scilicet ut decies solidum exsorberet, aceto
Diluit insignem baccam.—— Hor. l. ii. Sat. 2.

‡ This other pearl was afterwards consecrated to Venus by Augustus, who carried it to Rome, on his return from Alexandria: and having caused it to be cut in two, its size was so extraordinary, that it served for pendants in the ears of that goddess.

not be above ten in all; but that it was necessary every thing should be served in a degree of perfection, which every moment ceases and spoils. "For," added he, "it often happens "that Antony will order his supper, and a moment after for- "bid it to be served, having entered into some conversation "that diverts him. For that reason, not one, but many sup- "pers are provided; because it is hard to know at what time "he will think fit to eat."

Cleopatra, lest Antony should escape her, never lost sight of him, nor quitted him day nor night, but was always employed in diverting and retaining him in her chains. She played with him at dice, hunted with him, and when he exercised his troops, was always present. Her sole attention was to amuse him agreeably, and not to leave him time to conceive the least disgust.

One day, when he was fishing with an angle, and catched nothing, he was very much displeased on that account, because the queen was of the party, and he was unwilling to seem to want address or good fortune in her presence. It therefore came into his thoughts to order fishermen to dive secretly under water, and to fasten some of their large fishes to his hook which they had taken before. That order was executed immediately, and Antony drew up his line several times with a great fish at the end of it. This artifice did not escape the fair Egyptian. She affected great admiration and surprise at Antony's good fortune; but told her friends privately what had happened, and invited them to come the next day, and be spectators of a like pleasantry. They did not fail. When they were all got into the fishing-boats, and Antony had thrown his line, she commanded one of her people to dive immediately into the water, to prevent Antony's divers, and to make fast a large salt fish, of those that come from the kingdom of Pontus, to his hook. When Antony perceived his line had its load, he drew it up. It is easy to imagine what a great laugh arose at the sight of that salt fish; and Cleopatra said to him, "Leave the line, good general, to "us, the kings and queens of Pharos and Canopus; your "business is to fish for cities, kingdoms, and kings."

Whilst Antony amused himself in these puerile sports and trifling diversions, the news he received of Labienus's conquests, at the head of the Parthian army, awakened him from his profound sleep, and obliged him to march against them. But having received advice, upon his route, of Fulvia's death, he returned to Rome, where he reconciled himself to young

Cæsar, whose sister Octavia he married: a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. It was believed this marriage would make him forget Cleopatra. [l] But having begun his march against the Parthians, his passion for the Egyptian, which had something of enchantment in it, rekindled with more violence than ever.

[m] This queen, in the midst of the most violent passions and the intoxication of pleasures, retained always a taste for polite learning and the sciences. In the place where stood the famous library of Alexandria, which had been burned some years before, as we have observed, she erected a new one, to the augmentation of which Antony very much contributed, by presenting her the libraries of Pergamus, in which were above two hundred thousand volumes. She did not collect books merely for ornament; she made use of them. There were few barbarous nations to whom she spoke by an interpreter; she answered most of them in their own language; the Ethiopians, Troglodytæ, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians. [n] She knew besides several other languages; whereas the kings who had reigned before her in Egypt, had scarce been able to learn the Egyptian, and some of them had even forgot the Macedonian, their natural tongue.

Cleopatra, pretending herself the lawful wife of Antony, saw him marry Octavia with great emotion, whom she looked upon as her rival. Antony, to appease her, was obliged to make her magnificent presents. He gave her Phœnicia, the lower Syria, the isle of Cyprus, with a great extent of Cilicia. To these he added part of Judæa and Arabia. These great presents, which considerably abridged the empire, very much afflicted the Romans; and they were no less offended at the excessive honours which he paid this foreign princess.

Two years passed, during which Antony made several voyages to Rome, and undertook some expeditions against the Parthians and Armenians, in which he acquired no great honour.

[o] It was in one of these expeditions the temple of Antis was plundered, a goddess much celebrated amongst a certain people of Armenia. Her statue of massy gold was broken in

l A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39.
m A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38. Epiphan. de Mons. et Pond.
n Plut. in Anton. p. 927.
o Plin. l. xxxv. c. 23.

pieces by the soldiers, with which several of them were considerably enriched. One of them, a veteran, who afterwards settled at Bologna in Italy, had the good fortune to receive Augustus in his house, and to entertain him at supper. "Is "it true," said that prince at table, talking of this story, "that the man who made the first stroke at the statue of this "goddess was immediately deprived of sight, lost the use of "his limbs, and expired the same hour?" "If it were," replied the veteran with a smile, "I should not now have the "honour of seeing Augustus beneath my roof, being myself "the rash person who made the first attack upon her, which "has since stood me in great stead; for if I have any thing, "I am entirely indebted for it to the good goddess; upon one "of whose legs, even now, my lord, you are at supper."

[p] Antony, believing he had made every thing secure in those countries, led back his troops. From his impatience to rejoin Cleopatra, he hastened his march so much, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and the continual snows, that he lost eight thousand men upon his route, and marched into Phœnicia with very few followers. He rested there in expectation of Cleopatra; and as she was slow in coming, he fell into anxiety, grief, and languishment, that visibly preyed upon him. She arrived at length with clothes, and great sums of money, for his troops.

Octavia, at the same time, had quitted Rome to join him, and was already arrived at Athens. Cleopatra rightly perceived that she came to dispute Antony's heart with her. She was afraid, with her virtue, wisdom, and gravity of manners, if she had time to make use of her modest, but lively and insinuating attractions, to win her husband, that she would gain an absolute power over him. To avoid which danger, she affected to die for love of Antony; and, with that view, made herself lean and wan by taking very little nourishment. Whenever he entered her apartment, she looked upon him with an air of surprise and amazement; and when he left her, seemed to languish with sorrow and dejection. She often contrived to appear bathed in tears, and at the same moment endeavoured to dry and conceal them, as if to hide her weakness and disorder. Antony, who feared nothing so much as occasioning the least displeasure to Cleopatra, wrote letters to Octavia, to order her to stay for him at Athens, and to come no farther, because he was on the point of under-

[p] A. M. 3969. Ant. J. C, 35. Plut. in Anton. p. 239.—242.

taking some new expedition. At the request of the king of the Medes, who promised him powerful succours, he was, in reality, making preparations to renew the war against the Parthians.

That virtuous Roman lady, dissembling the wrong he did her, sent to him to know where it would be agreeable to him to have the presents carried she had designed for him, since he did not think fit to let her deliver them in person. Antony received this second compliment no better than the first; and Cleopatra, who had prevented his seeing Octavia, would not permit him to receive any thing from her. Octavia was obliged therefore to return to Rome, without having produced any other effect by her voyage, than that of making Antony more inexcuseable. This was what Cæsar desired, in order to have a juster reason for breaking entirely with him.

When Octavia came to Rome, Cæsar, professing an high resentment of the affront she had received, ordered her to quit Antony's house, and to go to her own. She answered, that she would not leave her husband's house; and that if he had no other reason for a war with Antony than what related to her, she conjured him to renounce her interests. She accordingly always continued there, as if he had been present, and educated with great care and magnificence, not only the children he had by her, but also those of Fulvia. What a contrast is here between Octavia and Cleopatra! In the midst of resentment and affronts, how worthy does the one seem of esteem and respect, and the other, with all her grandeur and magnificence, of contempt and abhorrence!

Cleopatra omitted no kind of arts to retain Antony in her chains. Tears, caresses, reproaches, menaces, all were employed. By dint of presents she had gained all who approached him, and in whom he placed most confidence. Those flatterers represented to him in the strongest terms, that it was utterly cruel and inhuman to abandon Cleopatra in the mournful condition she then was; and that it would be the death of that unfortunate princess, who loved and lived for him alone. They softened and melted the heart of Antony so effectually, that for fear of occasioning Cleopatra's death, he returned immediately to Alexandria, and put off the Medes to the following spring.

[q] It was with great difficulty then, that he resolved to leave Egypt, and remove himself from his dear Cleopatra.

q A. M. 3970. Ant. J. C. 34.

She agreed to attend him so far as the banks of the Euphrates.

[r] After having made himself master of Armenia, as well by treachery as force of arms, he returned to Alexandria, which he entered in triumph, dragging at his chariot-wheels the king of Armenia, laden with chains of gold, and presented him in that condition to Cleopatra, who was pleased to see a captive king at her feet. He unbent his mind at leisure, after his great fatigues, in feasts and parties of pleasure, in which Cleopatra and himself passed night and day. That vain * Egyptian woman, at one of the banquets, seeing Antony full of wine, presumed to ask him to give her the Roman empire, which he was not ashamed to promise her.

Before he set out in a new expedition, Antony, to bind the queen to him by new obligations, and to give her new proofs of his being entirely devoted to her, resolved to solemnize the coronation of her and her children. A throne of massy gold was erected for that purpose in the palace, the ascent to which was by several steps of silver. Antony was seated upon this throne, dressed in a purple robe embroidered with gold, and buttoned with diamonds. On his side he wore a scimitar, after the Persian mode, the handle and sheath of which were loaded with precious stones: he had a diadem on his brows, and a sceptre of gold in his hand; in order, as he said, that in that equipage he might deserve to be the husband of a queen. Cleopatra sat on his right hand, in a shining robe, made of the precious linen appropriated to the use of the goddess Isis, whose name and habit she had the vanity to assume. Upon the same throne, but a little lower, sat Cæsario, the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, and the two other children, Alexander and Ptolemy, whom she had by Antony.

Every one having taken the place assigned them, the heralds, by the command of Antony, and in the presence of all the people, to whom the gates of the palace had been thrown open, proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Cœlosyria, in conjunction with her son Cæsario. They afterwards proclaimed the other princes Kings of Kings, and declared, till they should possess a more ample inheritance, Antony gave Alexander the eldest, the kingdoms of Armenia and Media, with that of Parthia, when he should have conquered it: and to the youngest, Ptolemy, the kingdoms of

r A. M. 3971. Ant. J. C. 33.

* Hæc mulier Ægyptia ab ebrio imperatore, pretium libidinum, Romanum imperium petit; et promisit Antonius.—Flor. l. iv. c. 11.

Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia. Those two young princes were dressed after the mode of the several countries over which they were to reign. After the proclamation, the three princes rising from their seats approached the throne, and putting one knee to the ground, kissed the hands of Antony and Cleopatra. They had soon after a train assigned them, proportioned to their new dignity, and each his regiment of guards, drawn out of the principal families of his dominions.

Antony repaired early into Armenia, in order to act against the Parthians, and advanced as far as the banks of the Araxis; but the news of what passed at Rome against him, prevented his going on, and induced him to abandon the Parthian expedition. He immediately detached Canidius with sixteen legions to the coast of the Ionian sea, and joined them himself soon after at Ephesus, to be ready to act in case of an open rupture between Cæsar and him; which there was great reason to expect.

Cleopatra was of the party; and that occasioned Antony's ruin. His friends advised him to send her back to Alexandria, till the event of the war should be known. But that queen apprehending, that by Octavia's mediation he might come to an accommodation with Cæsar, gained Canidius, by presents of money, to speak in her favour to Antony, and to represent to him, that it was neither just to remove a princess from this war, who contributed so much towards it on her side; nor useful to himself, because her departure would discourage the Egyptians, of whom the greatest part of his maritime forces consisted. Besides, continued those who talked in this manner, it did not appear, that Cleopatra was inferior, either in prudence or capacity, to any of the princes or kings in his army: she, who had governed a kingdom so long, might have learned, in her commerce with Antony, how to conduct the most important and difficult affairs with wisdom and address. Antony did not oppose these remonstrances, which flattered at once his passion and vanity.

From Ephesus he repaired with Cleopatra to Samos, where the greatest part of their troops had their rendezvous, and where they passed the time in feasting and pleasure. The kings in their train, exhausted themselves in making their court by extraordinary expences, and displayed excessive luxury in their entertainments.

[s] It was probably in one of these feasts the circumstance

[s] Plin. l. xxi. c. 3.

happened related by Pliny. Whatever passion Cleopatra professed for Antony, as he perfectly knew her character for dissimulation, and that she was capable of the blackest crimes, he apprehended, I know not upon what foundation, that she might have thoughts of poisoning him; for which reason he never touched any dish at their banquet, till it had been tasted. It was impossible that the queen should not perceive so manifest a distrust. She employed a very extraordinary method to make him sensible how ill-founded his fears were; and also, that if she had so bad an intention, all the precautions he took would be ineffectual. She caused the extremities of the flowers to be poisoned, of which the wreaths worn by Antony and herself at table, according to the custom of the ancients, were composed. When their heads began to grow warm with wine, in the height of their gaiety, Cleopatra proposed drinking of these flowers to Antony. He made no difficulty of it; and after having plucked off the end of his wreath with his fingers, and thrown them into his cup filled with wine, he was upon the point of drinking it, when the queen taking hold of his arm, said to him——"I am the "poisoner, against whom you take such mighty precautions. "If it were possible for me to live without you, judge now "whether I wanted either the opportunity or reason for such "an action." Having ordered a prisoner condemned to die to be brought thither, she made him drink that liquor; upon which he died immediately.

The court went from Samos to Athens, where they passed many days in the same excesses. Cleopatra spared no pains to obtain the same marks of affection and esteem Octavia had received during her residence in that city. But whatever she could do, she could extort from them only forced civilities, that terminated in a trifling deputation, which Antony obliged the citizens to send to her, and of which he himself would be the chief, in quality of a citizen of Athens.

[t] The new consuls, Caius Socius, and Domitius Ænobarbus, having declared openly for Antony, quitted Rome, and repaired to him. Cæsar, instead of seizing them, or causing them to be pursued, ordered it to be given out, that they went to him by his permission; and declared publicly, that all persons who were so disposed, had his consent to retire whither they thought fit. By that means he remained master at Rome, and was in a condition to decree and act whatever he

t A. M. 3972. Ant. J. C. 32. Plut. in Anton. p. 941.—955.

thought proper for his own interest, or contrary to those of Antony.

When Antony was apprised of this, he assembled all the heads of his party; and the result of their deliberation was, that he should declare war against Cæsar, and repudiate Octavia. He did both. Antony's preparations for the war were so far advanced, that if he had attacked Cæsar vigorously, without loss of time, the advantage must inevitably have been wholly on his side; for his adversary was not then in a condition to make head against him, either by sea or land. But voluptuousness carried it; and the operations were put off to the next year. This was his ruin. Cæsar, by his delay, had time to assemble all his forces.

The deputies sent by Antony to Rome, to declare his divorce from Octavia, had orders to command her to quit his house, with all her children, and, in case of refusal, to turn her out by force, and to leave nobody in it but the son of Antony by Fulvia. An indignity the more sensible to Octavia, as a rival was the cause of it. However, stifling her resentment, she answered the deputies only with her tears; and as unjust as his orders were, she obeyed them, and removed with her children. She even laboured to appease the people, whom so unworthy an action had incensed against him, and did her utmost to mollify the rage of Cæsar. She represented to them, that it was inconsistent with the wisdom and dignity of the Roman people, to enter into such petty differences; that it was only a quarrel between women, which did not merit their resentment about it; and that she would be very wretched, if she were the occasion of a new war; she, who had solely consented to her marriage with Antony, from the hope that it would prove the pledge of an union between him and Cæsar. Her remonstrances had a different effect from her intentions; and the people, charmed with her virtue, had still more compassion for her misfortune, and detestation for Antony, than before.

But nothing enraged them to such an height as Antony's will, which he had deposited in the hands of the Vestal virgins. This mystery was revealed by two [u] persons of consular dignity, who, incapable of suffering the pride of Cleopatra, and the abandoned voluptuousness of Antony, had retired to Cæsar. As they had been witnesses of this will, and knew the secret, they declared it to Cæsar. The Vestals made great

[u] Titius and Plancus.

difficulty to give up an act confided to their care; alleging in their excuse the faith of deposites, which they were obliged to observe; and were determined to be forced to it by the authority of the people. The will accordingly being brought into the Forum, these three articles were read in it: I. That Antony acknowledged Cæsario, the lawful son of Julius Cæsar. II. That he appointed his sons by Cleopatra to be his heirs, with the title of Kings of Kings. III. That he decreed, in case he should die at Rome, that his body, after having being carried in pomp through the city, should be laid the same evening on a bed of state, in order to its being sent to Cleopatra, to whom he left the care of his funeral interment.

There are some authors, however, who believe this will to be a piece contrived by Cæsar, to render Antony more odious to the people. And indeed, what appearance was there, that Antony, who well knew to what a degree the Roman people were jealous of their rights and customs, should confide to them the execution of a testament, which violated them with so much contempt?

When Cæsar had an army and fleet ready, which seemed strong enough to make head against his enemy, he also declared war on his side. But in the decree granted by the people to that purpose, he caused it be expressed, that it was against Cleopatra. It was from a refinement of policy he acted in that manner, and did not insert Antony's name in the declaration of war, though actually intended against him: for, besides throwing the blame upon Antony, by making him the aggressor in a war against his country, he artfully managed those who were still attached to him, whose number and credit might have proved formidable, and whom he would have been under the necessity of declaring enemies to the commonwealth, if Antony had been expressly named in the decree.

Antony returned from Athens to Samos, where the whole fleet was assembled. It consisted of five hundred ships of war of extraordinary size and structure, having several decks one above another, with towers upon the head and stern, of a prodigious height; so that those superb vessles upon the sea might have been taken for floating islands. Such great crews were necessary for completely manning those heavy machines, that Antony, not being able to find mariners enough, had been obliged to take husbandmen, artificers, muleteers, and all sorts of people, void of experience, and fitter to give trouble than do service.

On board the fleet were two hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. The kings of Libya, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Comagena, and Thrace, were there in person: and those of Pontus, Judæa, Lycaonia, Galatia, and Media, had sent their troops. A more splendid and pompous sight could not be seen than this fleet when it put to sea, and had unfurled its sails. But nothing equalled the magnificence of Cleopatra's galley, all flaming with gold; its sails of purple; the flags and streamers floating in the wind, whilst trumpets, and other instruments of war, made the heavens resound with airs of joy and triumph. Antony followed her close in a galley almost as splendid. That queen *, drunk with her fortune and grandeur, and hearkening only to her unbridled ambition, fully threatened the Capitol with approaching ruin, and prepared, with her infamous troop of eunuchs, utterly to subvert the Roman empire.

On the other side, less pomp and splendour was seen, but more utility. Cæsar had only two hundred and fifty ships, and fourscore thousand foot, with as many horse as Antony. But all his troops were chosen men, and on board his fleet were none but experienced seamen. His vessels were not so large as Antony's, but they were much lighter and fitter for service.

Cæsar's rendezvous was at Brundusium, and Antony advanced to Corcyra. But the season of the year was over, and bad weather came on; so that they were both obliged to retire, and to put their troops into winter-quarters, and their fleets into good ports, till spring came on.

x Antony and Cæsar, as soon as the season would admit, took the field both by sea and land. The two fleets entered

x A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31.

* ——— Dum Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas,
Funus et imperio parabat,
Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum; quidlibet impotens
Sperare, fortunaque dulci
Ebria——— Hor. Od. 37. l. i.

Whilst drunk with fortune's heady wine,
Fill'd with vast hope, though impotent in arms,
The haughty queen conceives the wild design,
So much her vain ambition charms,
With her polluted band of supple slaves,
Her silken eunuchs, and her Pharian knaves,
The Capitol in dust to level low,
And give Rome's empire, and the world, a last, and fatal blow!

the Ambracian gulph in Epirus. Antony's bravest and most experienced officers advised him not to hazard a battle by sea, to send back Cleopatra into Egypt, and to make all possible haste into Thrace or Macedonia, in order to fight there by land; because his army, composed of good troops, and much superior in numbers to Cæsar's, seemed to promise him the victory; whereas a fleet so ill manned as his, how numerous soever it might be, was by no means to be relied on. But it was long since Antony had not been susceptible of good advice, and had acted only to please Cleopatra. That proud princess, who judged things solely from appearances, believed her fleet invincible, and that Cæsar's ships could not approach it without being dashed to pieces. Besides, she perceived aright, that in case of misfortune, it would be easier for her to escape in her ships than by land. Her opinion therefore took place, against the advice of all the generals.

* The battle was fought upon the second of September, at the mouth of the gulph of Ambracia, near the city of Actium, in sight of both of the land armies; the one, which was drawn up in battle upon the north, and the other upon the south of that strait, expecting the event. It was doubtful for some time, and seemed as much in favour of Antony as Cæsar, till the retreat of Cleopatra. That queen, frightened with the noise of the battle, in which every thing was terrible to a woman, took to flight, when she was in no danger, and drew after her the whole Egyptian squadron, that consisted of sixty ships of the line; with which she sailed for the coast of Peloponnesus. Antony, who saw her fly, forgetting every thing, forgetting even himself, followed her precipitately, and yielded a victory to Cæsar, which till then he had exceedingly well disputed. It, however, cost the victor extremely dear: for Antony's ships fought so well after his departure, that though the battle began before noon, it was not over when night came on; so that Cæsar's troops were obliged to pass it on board their ships.

The next day, Cæsar, seeing the victory complete, detached a squadron in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra. But that squadron, despairing of ever coming up with them, because so far before it, soon returned to join the gross of the fleet. Antony having entered the admiral galley, in which Cleopatra was, went and sat down at the head of it; where, leaning his elbows on his knees, and supporting his head with his two

* The 4th before the Nones of September.

hands, he remained like a man overwhelmed with shame and rage; reflecting with profound melancholy upon his ill conduct, and the misfortunes she had brought upon him. He kept in that posture, and in those thoughts, during the three days they were gone to Tænarus *, without seeing or speaking to Cleopatra. At the end of that time, they saw each other again, and lived together as usual.

The land-army still remained entire, and consisted of eighteen legions, and twenty-two thousand horse, under the command of Canidius, Antony's lieutenant-general, and might have made head, and given Cæsar abundance of difficulty. But seeing themselves abandoned by their generals, they surrendered to Cæsar, who received them with open arms.

From Tænarus Cleopatra took the route of Alexandria, and Antony that of Libya, where he had left a considerable army, to guard the frontiers of that country. Upon his landing he was informed that Scarpus, who commanded this army, had declared for Cæsar. He was so struck with this news, which he had no room to expect, that he would have killed himself, and was with difficulty prevented from it by his friends. He therefore had no other choice to make, than to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where she was arrived.

When she approached that port, she was afraid, if her misfortune should be known, that she should be refused entrance. She therefore caused her ships to be crowned, as if she was returned victorious; and no sooner landed, than she caused all the great lords of her kingdom, whom she suspected, to be put to death, lest they should excite seditions against her when they were informed of her defeat. Antony found her in the midst of these bloody executions.

[y] Soon after, she formed another very extraordinary design. To avoid falling into Cæsar's hands, who, she foresaw, would follow her into Egypt, she designed to have her ships in the Mediterranean carried into the Red Sea, over the isthmus between them, which is no more than thirty leagues broad; and afterwards to put all her treasures on board those ships, and the others which she had in that sea. But the Arabians, who inhabited that coast, having burned all the ships she had there, she was obliged to abandon her design.

Changing therefore her resolution, she thought only of gaining Cæsar, whom she looked upon as her conqueror, and

y A. M. 3974. Ant. J. C. 30.
* A Promontory of Laconia.

to make him a sacrifice of Antony, whose misfortunes had rendered him indifferent to her. Such was this princess's disposition: Though she loved even to madness, she had still more ambition than love; and the crown being dearer to her than her husband, she entertained thoughts of preserving it at the price of Antony's life. But concealing her sentiments from him, she persuaded him to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. She joined her ambassadors with his: but gave them instructions to treat separately for herself. Cæsar would not so much as see Antony's ambassadors. He dismissed Cleopatra's with a favourable answer. He passionately desired to make sure of her person and treasures; her person, to adorn his triumph; her treasures, to enable him to discharge the debts he had contracted upon account of this war. He therefore gave her reason to conceive great hopes, in case she would sacrifice Antony to him.

The latter, after his return from Libya, had retired into a country-house, which he had caused to be built expressly on the banks of the Nile, in order to enjoy the conversation of two of his friends, who had followed him thither. In this retirement, it might have been expected that he would hear with pleasure the wise discourses of those wise philosophers. But as they could not banish from his heart his love for Cleopatra, the sole cause of all his misfortunes, that passion, which they had only suspended, soon resumed its former empire. He returned to Alexandria, abandoned himself again to the charms and caresses of Cleopatra, and, with design to please her, sent deputies again to Cæsar, to demand life of him, upon the shameful conditions of passing it at Athens as a private person, provided Cæsar would assure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children.

The second deputation not having met with a more favourable reception than the former, Antony endeavoured to extinguish in himself the sense of his present misfortunes, and the apprehension of those that threatened him, by abandoning himself immoderately to feasting and voluptuousness. Cleopatra and he regaled one another alternately, and strove with emulation to exceed each other in the incredible magnificence of their banquets.

The queen, however, who foresaw what might happen, collected all sorts of poisons, and to try which of them occasioned death with the least pain, she made the experiment of their virtues and strength upon criminals in the prisons condemned to die. Having observed that the strongest poisons caused death the soonest, but with great torment; and that those

which were gentle, brought on an easy, but slow death; she tried the biting of venomous creatures, and caused various kinds of serpents to be applied to different persons. She made these experiments every day, and discovered at length, that the aspic was the only one that caused neither torture nor convulsions; and which, throwing the persons bit into an immediate heaviness and stupefaction, attended with a slight sweating upon the face, and a numbness of all the organs of sense, gently extinguished life; so that those in that condition were angry when any one awakened them, or endeavoured to make them rise, like people exceedingly sleepy. This was the poison she fixed upon.

To dispel Antony's suspicions and subjects of complaint, she applied herself with more than ordinary solicitude in caressing him. Though she celebrated her own birth-day with little solemnity, and suitably to her present condition, she kept that of Antony with a splendour and magnificence above what she had ever instanced before; so that many of the guests who came poor to that feast, went rich from it.

Cæsar, knowing how important it was to him not to leave his victory imperfect, marched in the beginning of the spring into Syria, and from thence sat down before Pelusium. He sent to summon the governor to open the gates to him; and Seleucus, who commanded there for Cleopatra, having received secret orders upon that head, surrendered the place without waiting a siege. The rumour of this treason spread in the city. Cleopatra, to clear herself of the accusation, put the wife and children of Seleucus into Antony's hands, in order that he might revenge his treachery by putting them to death. What a monster was this princess! The most odious of vices were united in her person; professed immodesty, breach of faith, injustice, cruelty, and, what crowns all the rest, the false outside of a deceitful amity, which covers a design formed to deliver up to his enemy the person she loads with the most tender caresses, and with marks of the warmest and most sincere attachment. Such are the effects of ambition, which was her predominant vice.

Adjoining to the temple of Isis, she had caused tombs and halls to be erected, superb as well for their beauty and magnificence, as their loftiness and extent. Thither she ordered her most precious moveables to be carried; gold, silver, jewels, ebony, ivory, and a large quantity of perfumes and aromatic wood; as if she intended to raise a funeral pile, upon which she would consume herself with her treasures. Cæsar, alarmed for the latter, and apprehending lest her despair should in-

duce her to burn them, dispatched every day some person to her to give her great hopes of the most kind and generous treatment, and nevertheless advanced towards the city by great marches.

Upon arriving there, he encamped near the Hippodrome. He was in hopes of making himself master of the city soon, by means of the intelligence he held with Cleopatra, upon which he relied no less than upon his army.

Antony was ignorant of that princess's intrigues, and being unwilling to believe what was told him of them, he prepared for a good defence. He made a vigorous sally; and after having severely handled the besiegers, and warmly pursued to the very gates of their camp a detachment of horse, which had been sent against him, he returned victorious into the city. This was the last effort of his expiring valour; for after this exploit, his fortitude and sense of glory abandoned him, or were never after of any service to him. Instead of making use of this advantage, and of applying himself seriously to his defence, by observing the motions of Cleopatra, who betrayed him, he came completely armed as he was, to throw himself at her feet, and to kiss her hands. The whole palace of Alexandria immediately resounded with acclamations, as if the siege had been raised; and Cleopatra, who had no thoughts but of amusing Antony, ordered a magnificent feast to be prepared, at which they passed the rest of the day, and part of the night together.

Early on the morrow, Antony resolved to attack Cæsar by sea and land. He drew up his land-army upon some eminences in the city, and from thence kept his gallies in view; which were going out of the port, in order to charge those of Cæsar. He waited without making any motion, to see the success of that attack; but was much astonished when he saw Cleopatra's admiral strike his flag, when he came in view of Cæsar's, and surrender his whole fleet to him.

This treason opened Antony's eyes, and made him give credit to what his friends had told him of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity, he was for signalizing himself by an extraordinary act of valour, capable, in his sense, of doing him abundance of honour. He sent to challenge Cæsar to single combat. Cæsar made answer, that if Antony was weary of life, there were other ways to die besides that. Antony seeing himself ridiculed by Cæsar, and betrayed by Cleopatra, returned into the city, and was a moment after abandoned by all his cavalry. Seized with rage and despair, he then flew to the

palace, with design to avenge himself upon Cleopatra, but did not find her there.

That artful princess, who had foreseen what happened, to escape the rage of Antony, had retired into the quarter where stood the tombs of the kings of Egypt, which was fortified with good walls, and of which she had ordered the gates to be closed. She caused Antony to be told, that preferring an honourable death to a shameful captivity, she had killed herself in the midst of her ancestors' tombs, where she had also chosen her own sepulchre. Antony, too credulous, did not give himself time to examine a piece of news which he ought to have suspected, after all Cleopatra's other infidelities; and struck with the idea of her death, passed immediately from excess of rage to the most violent transports of grief, and thought only of following her into the grave.

Having taken this furious resolution, he shut himself up in his apartment with a slave, and having caused his armour to be taken off, he commanded him to plunge his dagger into his breast; but that slave, full of affection, respect, and fidelity for his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. Antony, looking upon this action as an example for him to follow, thrust his sword into his body, and fell upon the floor in a torrent of his blood, which he mingled with that of his slave. At that moment an officer of the queen's guards came to let him know that she was alive. He no sooner heard the name of Cleopatra pronounced, than he opened his dying eyes, and being informed that she was not dead, he suffered his wound to be dressed, and afterwards caused himself to be carried to the fort where she had caused herself to be shut up. Cleopatra would not permit the gates to be opened to give him entrance, for fear of some surprise; but she appeared at an high window, from whence she threw down chains and cords. Antony was made fast to these, and Cleopatra, assisted by two women, who were the only persons she had brought with her into the tomb, drew him up. Never was there a more moving sight. Antony, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the air, turning his dying eyes, and extending his feeble hands, towards Cleopatra, as if to conjure her to receive his last breath; whilst she, with her features distorted, and her arms strained, pulled the cords with her whole strength; the people below, who could give her no further aid, encouraging her with their cries.

When she had drawn him up to her, and had laid him on a bed, she tore her clothes upon him, and beating her breast, and wiping the blood from his wound, with her face close to

his, she called him her prince, her lord, her dearest spouse. Whilst she made these mournful exclamations, she cut off Antony's hair, according to the superstition of the Pagans, who believed that a relief to those who died a violent death.

Antony, recovering his senses, and seeing Cleopatra's affliction, said to her, to comfort her, that he thought himself happy, as he died in her arms; and that, as to his defeat, he was not ashamed of it, it being no disgrace for a Roman to be overcome by Romans. He afterwards advised her to save her life and kingdom, provided she could do so with honour; to be upon her guard against the traitors of her own court, as well as the Romans in Cæsar's train, and to trust only Proculeius. He expired with these words.

The same moment Proculeius arrived from Cæsar, who could not refrain from tears at the sad relation of what had passed, and at the sight of the sword, still reeking with Antony's blood, which was presented to him. He had particular orders to get Cleopatra into his hands, and to take her alive, if possible. That princess refused to surrender herself to him. She had, however, a conversation with him, without letting him enter the tomb. He only came close to the gates, which were well fastened, but gave passage for the voice through cracks. They talked a considerable time together; during which she continually asked the kingdom for her children; whilst he exhorted her to hope the best, and pressed her to confide all her interests to Cæsar.

After having considered the place well, he went to make his report to Cæsar, who immediately sent Gallus to talk again with her. Gallus went to the gates, as Proculeius had done, and spoke like him, through the crevices, protracting the conversation on purpose. In the mean while Proculeius brought a ladder to the wall, entered the tomb by the same window through which she and her women had drawn up Antony, and, followed by two officers who were with him, went down to the gate where she was speaking to Gallus. One of the two women who were shut up with her, seeing him come, cried out, quite out of her senses with fear and surprise, "O unfortunate Cleopatra, you are taken!" Cleopatra turned her head, saw Proculeius, and would have stabbed herself with a dagger, which she always carried at her girdle; but Proculeius ran nimbly to her, took her in his arms, and said to her, "You wrong yourself and Cæsar too, "in depriving him of so grateful an occasion of shewing his "goodness and clemency." At the same time he forced the dagger out of her hands, and shook her robes, lest she should have concealed poison in them.

Cæsar sent one of his freedmen, named Epaphroditus, with orders to guard her carefully, to prevent her making any attempt upon herself, and to behave to her, at the same time, with all the regard and complacency she could desire: he likewise instructed Proculeius to ask the queen what she desired of him.

Cæsar afterwards prepared to enter Alexandria, the conquest of which there were no longer any to dispute with him. He found the gates of it open, and all the inhabitants in extreme consternation, not knowing what they had to hope or fear. He entered the city, conversing with the philosopher Ariæus, upon whom he leaned with an air of familiarity, to signify publicly the regard he had for him. Being arrived at the palace, he ascended a tribunal, which he ordered to be erected there; and seeing the whole people prostrate upon the ground, he commanded them to rise. He then told them, that he pardoned them, for three reasons; the first, upon the account of Alexander their founder; the second, for the beauty of their city; and the third, for the sake of Ariæus, one of their citizens, whose merit and knowledge he esteemed.

Proculeius, in the mean time, acquitted himself of his commission to the queen, who at first asked nothing of Cæsar, but his permission to bury Antony, which was granted her without difficulty. She spared no cost to render his interment magnificent, according to the custom of Egypt. She caused his body to be embalmed with the most exquisite perfumes of the East, and placed amongst the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

Cæsar did not think proper to see Cleopatra in the first days of her mourning; but when he believed he might do it with decency, he was introduced into her chamber, after having asked her permission; being desirous to conceal his designs under the regard he professed for her. She was laid upon a little bed, in a very simple and neglected manner. When he entered her chamber, though she had nothing on but a single tunic, she rose immediately, and went to throw herself at his feet, horribly disfigured, her hair loose and disordered, her visage wild and haggard, her voice faultering, her eyes almost dissolved by excessive weeping, and her bosom covered with wounds and bruises. That natural grace and lofty mien, which she derived from her beauty, were, however, not wholly extinct; and notwithstanding the deplorable condition to which she was reduced, even through the depth of grief and dejection, as from a dark cloud, shot forth pointed graces, and a kind of radiance, which brightened in her looks,

and in every motion of her countenance. Though she was almost dying, she did not despair of inspiring that young victor with love, as she had formerly done Cæsar and Antony.

The chamber where she received him was full of the portraits of Julius Cæsar. "My Lord," said she to him, pointing to those pictures, "behold those images of him who a-"dopted you his successor in the Roman empire, and to whom "I was obliged for my crown." Then taking letters out of her bosom, which she had concealed in it; "see also," said she, kissing them, "the dear testimonies of his love." She afterwards read some of the most tender of them, commenting upon them, at proper intervals, with moving acclamations, and passionate glances; but she employed these arts with no success; for whether her charms had no longer the power they had in her youth, or that ambition was Cæsar's ruling passion, he did not seem affected with either her person or conversation; contenting himself with exhorting her to take courage, and with assuring her of his good intentions. She was far from not discerning that coldness, from which she conceived no good augury; but dissembling her concern, and changing the discourse, she thanked him for the compliments Proculeius had made her in his name, and he had thought fit to repeat in person. She added, that in return she would deliver to him all the treasures of the kings of Egypt. And in effect, she put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and revenues. And as Seleucus, one of her treasurers, who was present, reproached her with not declaring the whole, and with having concealed part of her most valuable effects; incensed at so great an insult, she rose up, ran to him, and gave him several blows on the face. Then, turning towards Cæsar, "Is it not a horrible thing," said she to him, "that when you have not disdained to visit me, and have "thought fit to console me in the sad condition I now am in, "my own domestics should accuse me before you, of retain-"ing some women's jewels, not to adorn a miserable person "as I am, but for a present to your sister Octavia, and your "wife Livia; that their protection may induce you to afford "a more favourable treatment to an unfortunate princess?"

Cæsar was exceedingly pleased to hear her talk in that manner, not doubting but the love of life inspired her with such language. He told her, she might dispose as she pleased of the jewels she had reserved; and after having assured her, that he would treat her with more generosity and magnificence than she could imagine, he withdrew, imagining that he had deceived her, and was deceived himself.

Not doubting but Cæsar intended to make her serve as an ornament to his triumph, she had no other thoughts than to avoid that shame by dying. She well knew that she was observed by the guards who had been assigned her, and, under colour of doing her honour, followed her every where; and besides, that her time was short, Cæsar's departure approaching. The better therefore to amuse him, she sent to desire, that she might go to pay her last duty at the tomb of Antony, and take her leave of him. Cæsar having granted her that permission, she went thither accordingly to bathe that tomb with her tears, and to assure Antony, to whom she addressed her discourse as if he had been present before her eyes, that she would soon give him a more certain proof of her affection.

After that fatal protestation, which she accompanied with sighs and laments, she caused the tomb to be covered with flowers, and returned to her chamber. She then went into a bath, and from the bath to table, having ordered it to be served magnificently. When she rose from table, she wrote a letter to Cæsar; and having made all quit her chamber except her two women, she shut the door, sat down upon a bed, and asked for a basket of figs, which a peasant had lately brought. She placed it by her, and a moment after lay down as if she had fallen asleep; but that was the effect of the aspic, which was concealed amongst the fruit, and had stung her in the arm, which she had held to it. The poison immediately communicated itself to the heart, and killed her without pain, or being perceived by any body. The guards had orders to let nothing pass without a strict search into it: but the disguised peasant, who was one of the queen's faithful servants, played his part so well, and there appeared so little appearance of design in a basket of figs, that the guards suffered him to enter. Thus all Cæsar's precautions were ineffectual.

He did not doubt Cleopatra's resolution, after having read the letter she had wrote to him, to desire that he would suffer her body to be laid in the same tomb with that of Antony, and instantly dispatched two officers to prevent it. But notwithstanding all the haste they could make, they found her dead.

That * princess was too haughty, and too much above the vulgar, to suffer herself to be led in triumph at the wheels of

* Ausa et jacentem visere regiam
Vultu sereno fortis, et asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum.

the victor's chariot. * Determined to die, and thence become capable of the fiercest resolutions, she saw with dry eyes and indifference the mortal venom of the aspic glide into her veins. She died at thirty-nine years of age, of which she had reigned twenty-two from the death of her father. The statues of Antony were thrown down, and those of Cleopatra remained as they were; Archibius, who had long been in her service, having given Cæsar one thousand talents, that they might not be treated as Antony's had been.

After Cleopatra's death, Egypt was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and governed by a præfect sent thither from Rome. The reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt, to date its commencement from the death of Alexander the Great, had continued 293 years, from the year of the world 3681 to 3974.

CONCLUSION OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY.

We have seen hitherto, without speaking of the first and ancient kingdom of Egypt, and of some states separate, and in a manner entirely distinct from the rest, three great successive empires, founded on the ruin of each other, subsist during a long series of ages, and at length entirely disappear; the empire of the Babylonians, the empire of the Medes and Persians, and the empire of the Macedonians and the Grecian princes, successors of Alexander the Great. A fourth empire arises, that of the Romans, which having already swallowed up most of those which have preceded it, will extend its conquests,

* Deliberata morte ferocior:
Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens,
Privata deduci superbo,
Non humilis mulier triumpho. Hor. Od. xxxvii. l. 1.

Not the dark palace of the realms below
Can awe the furious purpose of her soul;
Calmly she looks from her superior woe,
That can both death and fear controul;
Provokes the serpent's sting, his rage disdains,
And joys to feel his poison in her veins.
Invidious to the victor's fancy'd pride,
She will not from her own descend,
Disgrac'd, a vulgar captive by his side,
His pompous triumph to attend;
But fiercely flies to death, and bids her sorrows end.

and after having subjected all to its power by force of arms, be itself torn in a manner into different pieces, and by being so dismembered, make way for the establishment of almost all the kingdoms which now divide Europe, Asia, and Africa. Behold here, to speak properly, an abridged picture of all ages; of the glory and power of all the empires of the world; in a word, of all that human greatness has of most splendid, and most capable of exciting admiration! All these, by an happy concurrence, generally unite in it; height of genius, delicacy of taste, attended with solid judgement; the excellent taste of eloquence, carried to the highest degree of perfection, without departing from the natural and the true; the glory of arms, with that of arts and sciences; valour in conquering, and ability in government. What a multitude of great men of every kind does it not present to our view! What powerful, what glorious kings! What great captains! What famous conquerors! What wise magistrates! What learned philosophers! What admirable legislators! We are transported with beholding in certain ages and countries, as if peculiar to themselves, an ardent zeal for justice, a passionate love for their country, a noble disinterestedness, a generous contempt of riches, and an esteem for poverty, which astonish and amaze us, so much they appear above human nature.

In this manner we think and judge. But whilst we are in admiration and extacy at the view of so many shining virtues, the Supreme Judge, who can alone estimate all things, sees nothing in them but trifles, meanness, vanity, and pride; and whilst mankind are continually busied in perpetuating the power of their families, in founding kingdoms, and eternizing themselves, if that were possible, God, from his throne on high, overthrows all their projects, and makes even their ambition the means of executing his purposes, infinitely superior to our understandings. He alone knows his operations and designs. All ages are present to him: "[z] He seeth from ever-"lasting to everlasting." He has assigned all empires their fate and duration. In all the different revolutions, we have seen that nothing has come to pass by chance. We know, that under the image of that statue which Nabuchodonosor saw, of an enormous height and terrible aspect, with the head of gold, the breasts and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the legs of iron mixed with clay, God thought fit to represent the four great empires, uniting in them, as we have seen in the course of this history, all that is glorious, grand,

z Eccles. xxxix. 19.

formidable, and powerful. And of what has the Almighty occasion for overthrowing this immense Colossus? "[a] A small "stone was cut out with hands, which smote the image "upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to "pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, "and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the "chaff of the summer thrashing-floors, and the wind carried "them away, that no place was found for them; and the stone "that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled "the whole earth."

We see with our own eyes the accomplishment of this admirable prophecy of Daniel, at least in part. Jesus Christ, who descended to clothe himself with flesh and blood in the sacred womb of the blessed virgin, without the participation of man, is the small stone that came from the mountain without human aid. The prevailing characteristics of his person, of his relations, his appearance, his manner of teaching, his disciples, in a word, of every thing that relates to him, were simplicity, poverty, and humility; which were so extreme, that they concealed from the eyes of the proud Jews the divine lustre of his miracles, how shining soever it was, and from the sight of the devil himself, as penetrating and attentive as he was, the evident proofs of his divinity.

Notwithstanding that seeming weakness, and even meanness, Jesus Christ will certainly conquer the whole universe. It is under this idea a prophet represents him to us: "[b] He went "forth conquering and to conquer." His work and mission are, "to set up a kingdom for his Father, which shall never be "destroyed; and the kingdom which shall not be left to other "people;" like those which we have seen in the history; "but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms; "and it shall stand for ever."

The power granted to Jesus Christ, the founder of this empire, is without bounds, measure, or end. The kings, who glory so much in their puissance, have nothing which approach us in the least to that of Jesus Christ. They do not reign over the will of man, which is real dominion. Their subjects can think as they please independently of them. There are an infinitude of particular actions done without their order, and which escape their knowledge as well as their power. Their designs often miscarry, and come to nothing even during their own lives. But with Jesus Christ it is quite otherwise. "[c] All "power is given unto him in heaven and in earth." He ex-

a Dan. ii. 34, 35. b Apoc. vi. 2. c Matth. xxviii. 18.

ercises it principally upon the hearts and minds of men. Nothing is done without his order or permission. Every thing is disposed by his wisdom and power. Every thing co-operates directly or indirectly to the accomplishment of his designs.

Whilst all things are in motion and fluctuate upon earth; whilst states and empires pass away with incredible rapidity, and the human race, vainly employed in the external view of these things, are also drawn in by the same torrent, almost without perceiving it; there passes in secret an order and disposition of things unknown and invisible, which however determine our fate to all eternity. The duration of ages has no other end than the formation of the bodies of the elect, which augments, and tends daily towards perfection. When it shall receive its final accomplishment by the death of the last of the elect; "[d] Then cometh the end, when he shall have deliver-"ed up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall "have put down all rule, and all authority, and power." God grant that we may all have our share in that blessed kingdom, whose law is truth, whose kingdom is love, and whose duration is eternity. *Fiat! Fiat!*

d 1 Cor. xv. 24.

END OF VOLUME SIXTH.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

CHRONOLOGY.

CHRONOLOGY is the knowledge of times. It shews to what year the events related in history are to be referred. The years used for measuring the duration of time are either solar or lunar.

The solar year is that space of time between one equinox and another of the same denomination the next year; for instance, from the vernal equinox to the vernal equinox following, which contains three hundred and sixty-five days, five hours, and forty-nine minutes.

The lunar year is composed of twelve lunar months, of which each is twenty-nine days, twelve hours, and forty-four minutes, that make in all three hundred and fifty-four days, eight hours, and forty-eight minutes.

Both of these years are called Astronomical, to distinguish them from that vulgarly used, which is termed Civil or Political.

Though nations may not agree amongst themselves in the manner of determining their years, some regulating them by the sun's motions, and others by the moon's; they however generally use the solar year in chronology. It seems at first, that as the lunar years are shorter than the solar, that inequality should produce some error in chronological calculations. But it is to be observed, that the people who used lunar years, added a certain number of the intercalary days to make them agree with the solar; which reconciles them with each other, or at least, if there be any difference, it may be neglected, when the question is only to determine the year in which a fact has happened.

In chronology there are certain times distinguished by some great event, to which all the rest are referred. * These are called Epochs, from a Greek word, which signifies to stay, because we stay there to consider, as from a resting-place, all that has happened before or after, and by that means to avoid anachronisms, that is to say, those errors which induce confusion of times.

The choice of the events which are to serve as epochs is arbitrary; and a writer of history may take such as best suit his plan.

* Επoχή.

When we begin to compute years from one of these points distinguished by a considerable event, the enumeration and series of such years are called Eras. There are almost as many eras as there have been different nations. The principal and most used are those of the World, of Jesus Christ, of the Olympiads, and of Rome. I should have been glad to have used all the four in the Chronological Table at the end of my history; but the narrow compass of these pages obliges me to confine myself to the most famous; that is to say, that of the World, and that of Jesus Christ.

Every body knows that the Olympiads derive their origin from the Olympic games, which were celebrated in Peloponnesus, near the city of Olympia. These games were so solemn, that Greece made them her epoch for computing her years. By Olympiad is meant the space of four years complete, which is the time that elapsed between one celebration of games and another. The first used by chronologers begins, according to Usher, in the summer of the year of the world 3228, before Christ 776. When the time on which an event happened is reckoned by the Olympiads, authors say the first, second, or third, &c. year of such an Olympiad; which being once known, it is easy to find the year of the world to which the same fact is to be referred; and in like manner, when the year of the world is known, it is easy to find that of the Olympiad which agrees with it.

Rome was built, according to Varro's Chronology, in the year of the world 3251, and the 753d before Jesus Christ. Cato dates the foundation of that city two years later, in the year of the world 3253, before Jesus Christ 751. I shall follow the opinion of the latter in my Roman history. The years reckoned from this epoch are called indifferently years of Rome, or years from the foundation of the city.

The Julian period is also a famous era in chronology, used principally for reckoning the years before Christ. I am going to explain wherein this period consists, and its use; but first I must give the reader an idea of the three cycles, of which it is composed.

By the world cycle, the revolution of a certain number of years is understood.

The solar cycle is a term of twenty-eight years, which includes all the variations that the Sundays and days of the week admit; that is to say, at the end of twenty-eight years, the first seven letters of the alphabet, which are used in the calendar for noting the day of the week, and which are called Dominical letters, return in the same order in which they were at first. To understand what I have now said, it must be observed, that if the year had only fifty-two weeks, there

would be no change in the order of the dominical letters. But as it has a day more, and two in leap-year, that produces all the variations included in the space of twenty-eight years, of which the solar cycle consists.

The lunar cycle, called also the Golden Number, is the revolution of nineteen years, at the end of which the moon returns, within near an hour and a half, to the same point with the sun, and begins its lunations again in the same order as at first. We are indebted for the invention of the cycle to Methon, a famous Athenian astronomer. Before the invention of the epacts, it was used for making the days of the new moon in the calendar.

Besides these two cycles, chronologers admit of a third also, called indiction. This is a revolution of fifteen years, of which the first is called the first indiction, the second the second indiction, and so on to the fifteenth; after which they begin again to count the first indiction, &c.

The first indiction is generally supposed to have begun three years before the birth of Christ.

If these three cycles, that is to say, 28, 19, and 15, are multiplied by each other, the product will be 7980, which is what is called the Julian period.

One of the properties of this period is to give the three characteristic cycles of each year, that is to say, the current year of each of the three cycles; for example, every body knows that the vulgar era commences at the year 4714 of the Julian period. If that number be divided by 28, what remains * after the division shews the solar cycle of that year. In the same manner the lunar cycle and the indiction may be found. It is demonstrated, that the three numbers which express these three cycles cannot be found again in the same order in any other year of the Julian period. It is the same in respect to the cycles of other years.

If we trace this period back to its first year, that is to say, to the year when the three cycles of which it it composed began, we shall find it precede the creation of the world 710 years; supposing the creation to precede the vulgar era only 4004 years.

This period is also called Julian, because it is made to agree with the years of Julius Cæsar. Scaliger invented it to reconcile the systems that divided the chronologers concerning the length of time elapsed since the beginning of the world. There are who believe that only 4004 years of the world are to be reckoned before Jesus Christ. Others give more extent

* I say what remains, and not the quotient, as some authors do; for the quotient expresses the number of cycles elapsed since the beginning of the period, and what remains after the division, shews the year of the current cycle.

to that space, and augment the number of years of which it consists. These variations disappear when the Julian period is used; for every body agrees in respect to the year in which it began, and there is nobody who does not know, that the first year of the vulgar era, falls in the 4714th of that period. Thus in the Julian period there are two fixed points, which unite all systems, and reconcile all chronologers.

It is easy to find the year of the Julian period that answers to any year whatsoever of the vulgar era of the world; for as the beginning of the Julian period precedes that era 710 years, by adding that number to the year proposed of the era of the world, we have the year of the Julian period that answers to it. For instance, we know that the battle of Arbela was fought in the year of the world 3673. If to that number we add 710, it will be 4383, which number expresses the year of the Julian period to which the battle of Arbela is to be referred.

It remains for me to say a few words upon the order I have observed in my Chronological Table. At first I proposed to make as many columns as there are different nations in my book, whose history falls out in the same times, and to place them all in the same line with each other, in order that all the events that happened in the same year might be seen at one view: but besides my not having sufficient room to place so many columns side by side with each other, I found that I should have been obliged to leave too many blank spaces, which would have considerably lengthened the tables, and in consequence swelled the volume, that, as it is, is very large. I therefore chose to separate the Carthaginians and Syracusans, and to give their chronology apart. The histories of those two people are abundantly interwoven with each other, and have little relation to those of the other nations of whom I have treated.

The reader knows, that hitherto I have not entered into chronological discussions, and undoubtedly does not expect that I should do so now. I shall generally follow Usher, whom I have chosen for my guide on this subject.

THE TABLE.

A. M.	*A. C.*	*Assyrians.*
1800	2204	Nimrod, founder of the first empire of the Assyrians. Ninus, son of Nimrod. Semiramis. She reigned forty-two years. Ninyas. *The history of the successors of Ninyas for thirty generations, except of Phul and Sardanapalus, is unknown.*

A M	A C	Egypt.	Greece.
1810	2188	Menes, or Mesram, first king of Egypt. Busiris. Osymandyas. Ochoreus. Moeris.	
1915	2089		Foundation of the kingdom of Sicyon.
1920	2084	The King-shepherds seize the lower Egypt. They reign 260 years.	
2084	1920	Abraham enters Egypt, where Sarah is in great danger from one of the King-shepherds.	
2148	1856		Foundation of the kingdom of Argos. Deluge of Oxyges in Attica.
2179	1825	Thetmosis expels the King-shepherds, and reigns in the lower Egypt.	
2176	1728	Joseph is carried into Egypt, and sold to Potiphar.	
2298	1706	Jacob goes into Egypt with his family.	
2427	1577	Ramesses-Miamum begins to reign in Egypt. He persecutes the Israelites.	
2448	1556	Cecrops carries a colony from Egypt, and founds the kingdom of Athens.	Foundation of the kingdom of Athens by Cycrops. He institutes the Areopagus.
2488	1516		Under Cranaus, successor of Cecrops, happens Deucalion's flood. Foundation of the kingdom of Lacedæmonia, of which Lelex is the first king.
2494	1510	Amenophis, the eldest son of Ramesses, succeeds him.	
2513	1491	The Israelites quit Egypt. Amenophis is swallowed up in the Red-sea, Sesostris his son succeeds him. He divides Egypt into thirty nomes, or districts, renders Ethiopia tributary, conquers Asia, and subjects the Scythians as far as the Tanais. On his return into Egypt he kills himself, after a reign of 33 years.	
2530	1474		Danaus, brother of Sesostris, leaves Egypt, and retires into the Peloponnesus, where he makes himself master of Argos.
2547	1457	Pheron succeeds Sesostris.	Perseus, the fifth of Danaus's successors, having unfortunately killed his grandfather, abandons Argos, and founds the kingdom of Mycene.

A M	*A C*	*Egypt.*	*Greece.*
2628	1376		Sisyphus, the son of Æolus, makes himself master of Corinth.
2710	1294		The descendants of Sisyphus are driven out of Corinth by the Heraclidæ.
2720	1284		Ægæus, the son of Pandion, king of Attica. The expedition of the Argonauts is dated in the reign of this prince.
2800	1204	Proteus. In his reign Paris is driven into Egypt on his return to Troy with Helen. Rhampsinith.——Cheops.——Chephrem.——Mycerinus.——Asychis. The six preceding reigns were 170 years in duration; but it is hard to assign the length of each of them in particular.	The Heraclidæ make themselves masters of Peloponnesus; from whence they are obliged to retire soon after.
2820	1184		Troy taken by the Greeks.
2900	1104		The Heraclidæ re-enter Peloponnesus, and seize Sparta, where the brothers Eurystenes and Procles reign together.
2934	1070		Institution of the Archons at Athens. Medon, the son of Codrus, is the first.
2949	1055		Cadmus builds the city of Thebes, and makes it the seat of his government.
2991	1013	Pharaoh, king of Egypt, gives his daughter in marriage to Solomon.	
3026	978	Sesac, otherwise called Seson-chis. It was with him that Jeroboam took refuge.	
3033	971	Sesac marches against Jerusalem, and conquers Judæa.	
3063	941	Zara, king of Egypt, makes war with Asa, king of Judah. Anysis. In his reign Sabacus, king of Ethiopia, makes himself master of Egypt, reigns there fifty years; after which he retires, and leaves the kingdom to Anysis.	
3120	884		Lycurgus.
3160	884		Homer. Hesiod lived about the same time.
3210	794		Caranus founds the kingdom of Macedonia.
3228	776		Beginning of the common era of the Olympiads.

I return to the chronology of the Assyrians, which I discontinued, because from Ninyas down to this time, nothing is known of their history.

A M	A C	Assyrians.
3233	771	Phul, the king of Nineveh, who repented upon Jonah's preaching.
3237	767	Sardanapalus, the last king of the first empire of the Assyrians. After a reign of twenty years, he burns himself in his palace.
		The first empire of the Assyrians, which ended at the death of Sardanapalus, had subsisted more than 1450 years. Out of its ruins three others were formed; that of the Assyrians of Babylon; that of the Assyrians of Nineveh; and that of the Medes.

A M	A C	*Egypt.*	*Greece.*	*Babylon.*	*Nineveh.*	*Media.*	*Lydia.*
3257	747			Belesis, or Nabonassar The scripture calls him Baladan.	Thegalath Phalasar. The 8th year of his reign he aids Ahaz, king of Judah, and makes himself master of Syria, & of part of the kingdom of Judah.	Arbaces exercises the sovereign authority over the Medes, without taking upon him the title of king.	
3261	743		First war between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians. It continues 20 years.				The Heraclidæ possess the kingdom of Lydia 505 years. Argon was the first king. He began to reign in the year of the world 2781. The history of his successors is little known before Candaules.
3268	736			Merodach Baladan. He sent ambassadors to Hezekiah, to congratulate him upon the recovery of his health. Nothing is known of the other kings who reigned in Babylon.			
3269	735				Salmanasar. The eighth year of his reign he took Samaria, and carried away the people into captivity.		
3280	724						Candaules.
3285	719	Sehon. He reigned 14 years.	Archilochus the famous poet.				
3286	718						Gyges. He puts Candaules to death, and reigns in his stead.
3287	718				Sennacherib. In the fifth year of his reign he makes war against Hezekiah king of Judah. An angel destroys his army at the time he is besieging Jerusalem.		

A M	A C	Egypt.	Greece.	Babylon.	Nineveh.	Media.	Lydia.
					On his return to his kingdom he is killed by his two sons.		
3294	710				Asarhaddon.		
3296	708					Dejoces causes himself to be declared king of the Medes.	
3298	706	Tharaca reigns 18 years. Anarchy two years in Egypt.					
3319	685	Twelve					
3320	684	of the prin	Second				
3323	681	cipal lords	war between		Asarhaddon unites		
3324	680	of Egypt seize the kingdom, of which each governs a part with equal authority.	the Lacedæmonians and Messenians 14 years.		the empire of Babylon with that of Nineveh.		Death of Gyges. Ardys his son succeeds him. In his reign of 49 years, the Cimmerians made themselves masters of Sardis.
3327	677				Asarhaddon carries the remains of the kingdom of Israel into Assyria. The same year he puts Manasseh in chains, and carries him into Babylon.		
3334	670	Psammiticus, one of the twelve kings, defeats the other eleven, and remains sole master of Egypt. He takes Azoth after a siege of 29 years.					
				Babylon and Nineveh.			
3335	669			Saosduchin, or Nebucodonosor I. The 12th year of his reign he defeats Phraortes, king of the Medes, and takes Ecbatana. It was after this expedition that he made Holophernes besiege Bethulia.		Death of Dejoces. Phraortes succeeds him.	
3347	657						
3356	648			Death of Nebucodonosor. Saracus, called also Chynaladanus, succeeded him. Nabopolassar's revolt		Phraortes perishes at the siege	
3364	640		Tyrteus,				
3369	635		a poet who				
3373	631		excelled in				Sadyattes.
3378	629		celebrating				He forms

A M	A C	*Egypt.*	*Greece.*	*Babylon & Nineveh.*	*Media.*	*Lydia.*
			military virtue. Thales of Miletus, founder of the Ionic sect.	against Saracus. He makes himself master of Babylon.	of Nineveh, with part of his army. Cyaxares his son succeeds him. The second year of his reign he beats the Assyrians, and attacks Nineveh, the siege of which he is obliged to abandon by a sudden irruption of the Scythians into his dominions.	the sieges of Miletus in the 16th year of his reign.
3380	624		Draco, legislator of Athens.	Destruction of Nineveh. From thenceforth Babylon was the capital of the Assyrian empire.	Cyaxares joins his forces with those of Nabopolassar, takes Nineveh, and puts Syracus its king to death.	Alyattes. He continues the siege of Miletus, which had been carried on six years by his father, and puts an end to it six years after, by concluding a peace with the besieged. In the same prince's reign there was a war between the Medes and Lydians, which was terminated by the marriage of Cyaxares with Arycnis the daughter of Alyattes.
3385	619					
3388	616	Nechao. The 7th year of his reign he defeats the king of Assyria, and seizes part of his dominions. He reigned 16 years.		*Babylon.*		
3396	607			Nabopolassar associates his son Nebucodonosor in the empire, and sends him at the head of an army to reconquer the countries taken from him by Nechao.		
3397	606			Jerusalem taken by Nebucodonosor. He transports a great number of Jews to Babylon, and amongst them the prophet Daniel. The captivity begins from his carrying away the Jews to Babylon.		
3399	605			Death of Nabopolassar. His son Nebucodonosor II. succeeds him in all his dominions.		
3400	604		Solon. The seven sages of Greece lived about this time. Alcæus, from whom the Alcaic verses take			
3403	601				Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, gives his daughter in marriage to Cambyses,	
3404	600	Psammis six years.		Nebucodonosor's first dream interpreted by Daniel.		

A M	*A C*	*Egypt.*	*Greece.*	*Babylon.*	*Media.*	*Lydia.*
			their name. Sappho, at		king of Persia.	
3405	590		the same time.	Nebucodonosor's lieutenants, after having	Birth of Cyrus.	
3409	595			ravaged Judæa, block-	Death of	
3410	594	Apries. He makes himself master of Sidon, in the 1st year of his reign.		ade Jerusalem, and put king Jehoiakim to death. About the end of the same year, Nebucodonosor repairs in person to Jerusalem, makes himself master of it, and	Cyaxares. Astyages his son succeeds him. He reigns 15 years.	
3411	593	Zedekiah, king of Judah, makes an alliance		appoints Zedekiah king instead of Jehoiakim, whom he carries into captivity.		
3416	588	with the king of Egypt, contrary to the advice of the prophet Jeremiah.		Nebucodonosor destroys Jerusalem, and carries away Zedekiah captive to Babylon. At his return into his dominions he causes the 3 young Hebrews to be	Cyrus goes for the first time into Media, to see his grandfather Astyages.	
3430	578	Unfortunate expedition of Apries into Libya. Amasis revolts against Apries.		thrown into the furnace.	He remains three years with him.	
3432	572	Nebucodonosor subjects Egypt, and confirms Amasis in the		Nebucodonosor makes himself master of Tyre, after a siege of 13 years. He did not march against Egypt till after this expedition.		
3434	570	throne.		Nebucodonosor's second dream interpreted by Daniel.		
3435	569	Apries	Thespis	Nebucodonosor reduced to the condition		
3440	564	dies in the 25th year of his reign. Amasis reigns after him in	reforms tragedy. Pythagoras lived about this time. Symonides the cc-	of beasts, during seven years; after which he reigns again one year. Evil-Merodach his son succeeds him. He reigns only two years.		
3442	562	peace.	lebrated	Neriglissor. He		Crœsus.
3444	560		poet.	makes great preparations for war against the Medes, and calls in Crœsus to his aid.	Death of Astyages. Cyaxares succeeds him, known in the scripture under	Æsop lived in his reign, and was in his court at the same time with Solon.

A M	A C	Egypt.	Greece.	Babylon.	Media.	Lydia.
					the name of Darius the Mede.	
3445	559		Pisistratus makes himself master of Athens.		Cyrus returns into Media for the second time, in order to assist his uncle in the war with the Babylonians.	
3447	557				Expedition of Cyrus against the king of Armenia.	
3448	556			Laborosoarchod. He reigns only nine months.	Cyaxares and Cyrus defeat the Babylonians in a great battle, in which Neriglissor is slain.	Crœsus flies before Cyrus.
3449	555			Labynit, called in scripture Belshazzar.		Battle of Thymbria between Crœsus and Cyrus, followed with the taking of Sardis by the latter. End of the kingdom of Lydia.
3456	548				About this time the marriage of Cyrus with the daughter of his uncle Cyaxares may be dated.	
3460	544		Hypponax, author of the verse Scazon. Heraclitus, chief of the sect which bears his name.			
3464	540		Birth of Æschylus,			
3466	537		Ctesiphon, or Chersiphron, a celebrated architect, famous especially for building the temple of Diana of Ephesus.	Labynit is killed at the taking of Babylon. The death of that prince puts an end to the Babylonian empire, which is united with that of the Medes.	Cyrus makes himself master of Babylon.	
3468	546				Death of Cyaxares.	

A M	A C	Egypt.	Greece.	Persian Empire.
				After the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses, Cyrus, who succeeded both in their dominions, united the empire of the Medes with those of the Babylonians and Persians; and of the three formed a fourth, under the name of the Empire of the Persians, which subsisted 206 years.
				Empire of the Persians.
3468	536			Cyrus. The first year of his reign he permits the Jews to return into Judæa.
3470	534			Daniel's vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia.
3475	529			Cyrus dies on a tour which he makes into Persia, after his having reigned seven years alone, and thirty from his setting out from Persia at the head of an army to aid Cyaxares.
3478	526		Death of Pisistratus.	
3479	525	Psammenitus. He reigns only six months.	Hippias his son succeeds him.	Cambyses his son succeeds him. The fourth year of his reign he attacks Egypt, and re-unites it to the kingdom of the Persians.
3480	524	After the death of that prince, Egypt is annexed to the		Unsuccessful expedition of Cambyses against the Ethiopians.
3481	523	Persian dominions, & continues so till the reign of Alexander the Great,		Cambyses puts Merœ, who was both his sister and wife, to death. It was about this time that Oretas, one of the Satrapæ of Cambyses, made himself master of the island of Samos, and caused Pollycrates the tyrant of it to be put to death.
3482	522	which includes the space of two hundred		Death of Cambyses. Smerdis the Magus, who had mounted the throne before the death of Cambyses, succeeds him. He reigns only seven months.
3483	521	and six		Darius, son of Hystaspes.
3485	519	years.		Edict of Darius in favour of the Jews, wherein that of Cyrus is repealed. It is believed, that what is related in the history of Esther happened some time after the publication of this edict.
3488	516			Babylon revolts against Darius, and is taken after a siege of twenty months.
3490	514		Miltiades goes to settle in the Chersonesus.	Expedition of Darius against the Scythians.
3496	508		The Pisistratidæ are obliged to abandon Attica.	Darius penetrates into India, and reduces all that great country into subjection.

A M	A C	
		The history of the Greeks from henceforth will be intermixed and almost confounded with that of the Persians; for which reason I shall separate their Chronology no farther.
		Persians and Greeks.
3501	503	The Persians form the siege of the capital of the island of Naxos, and are obliged to raise it in six months.
3502	502	Aristagoras, governor of Miletus, revolts from Darius, and brings the Ionians and Athenians into his measures.
3504	500	The Ionians make themselves masters of Sardis, and burn it.
3507	497	The Persians defeat the Ionians in a sea-fight before the island of Lados, and make themselves masters of Miletus.
		Æschylus.
3510	494	Darius sends Gobrias his son-in-law at the head of an army to attack Greece.
		Anacreon.
3513	491	Darius takes the command of his armies from Gobrias, and gives it to Datis and Artaphernes.
3514	490	Battle of Marathon.
3515	489	Unfortunate end of Miltiades.
3519	485	Death of Darius Hystaspes. Xerxes his son succeeds him.
3520	484	Birth of the historian Herodotus.
3524	480	Xerxes sets out to make war against the Greeks.
		Battle of Thermopylæ. Leonidas, king of the Lacedæmonians, is killed in it. Sea-fight near Artemisium, at the same time as the battle of Thermopylæ.
		Birth of Euripides.
		Battle of Salamin, followed by the precipitate return of Xerxes into Persia.
3525	479	Battle of Platæa. Sea-fight the same day near Mycale, in which the Persians are defeated.
3526	478	The Athenians rebuild the walls of their city, which had been demolished by Xerxes, notwithstanding the opposition of the Lacedæmonians.
3528	476	The command of the armies of Greece, of which the Lacedæmonians had been in possession from the battle of Thermopylæ, is transferred to the Athenians.
		Pindar flourished about this time.
3530	474	Pausanius, general of the Lacedæmonians, accused of holding secret intelligence with Xerxes, is put to death.
3531	473	Themistocles the Athenian general, is accused of having had a share in Pausanius's plot, and takes refuge with Admetus, king of the Molossians.
		Sophocles and Euripides appear in Greece about this time.
3532	472	Xerxes is killed by Artabanes, the captain of his guards.
		Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, succeeds him. Themistocles takes refuge in his court the first year of his reign.
3533	471	Cimon receives the command of the armies at Athens. The year following he defeats the Persians, and takes their fleet near the mouth of the river Eurymedon.
		Birth of the historian Thucydides.
3534	470	Great earthquake at Sparta, in the reign of Archidamus; which makes way for a sedition of the Helots.
		Birth of Socrates.
3535	469	Beginning of Pericles.
		Phidias, famous for his skill in architecture and sculpture.

A M	A C	*Persians and Greeks.*
3535	369	Difference and misunderstanding between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, occasioned by the affront offered to the Athenians by the Lacedæmonians, in sending back their troops, after having called in their aid against the Messenians and Helots. Some time after, and in consequence of this quarrel, Cimon is banished by the Ostracism.
3537	467	Esdras obtains a commission from Artaxerxes to return to Jerusalem, with all that are willing to follow him.
3538	466	Themistocles puts an end to his life at Magnesia.
3540	464	Herodicus of Sicily, chief of the sect of Physicians called Αιαιτητικὴ Hippocrates was his disciple.
3544	460	The Egyptians, supported by the Athenians, revolt against Artaxerxes.
3545	459	Defeat of the Persian army in Egypt.
3548	456	The Egyptians and Athenians are defeated in their turn ; in consequence of which, all Egypt returns to its obedience to Artaxerxes, and the Athenians retire to Danarus, where they sustain a siege of a year.
		Battle of Tanagra in Bœotia, where the Athenians beat the Spartans, who were come to the aid of the Bœotians.
3550	454	Nehemiah obtains Artaxerxes's permission to return to Jerusalem.
3554	450	Birth of Xenophon.
		Cimon, recalled from banishment after five years absence ; reconciles the Athenians and Spartans, and makes them conclude a truce of five years.
3555	449	End of the war between the Greeks and the Persians, which had continued from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, fifty-one years.
		Death of Cimon.
3558	446	The Lacedæmonians conclude a truce for thirty years with the Athenians. The latter soon break it by new enterprises.
		Empedocles, the Pythagorean philosopher, flourished about this time.
		Myron, the famous sculptor of Athens.
3564	440	Pericles makes war with the Samians, and takes the capital of their island, after a siege of nine months.
		Zeuxis, the famous painter, disciple of Apollodorus. Parrhasius his rival lived at the same time.
		Aristophanes, the comic poet.
3568	436	Birth of Isocrates.
		War between the Corinthians and the people of Corcyra. The Athenians engage in it in favour of the Corcyrians. The inhabitants of Potidæa declare on the side of Corinth against Athens. Alcibiades begins to appear in this war, which occasions that of Peloponnesus.
		Scopas, architect and sculptor.
3573	431	Beginning of the Peloponnesian war. It subsists 27 years.
3574	430	A terrible plague rages in Attica. The physician Hippocrates distinguishes himself by the extraordinary care of the sick.
3575	429	Death of Pericles.
3576	428	The Lacedæmonians besiege Platæa.
		Plato, founder of the ancient academy.
3579	425	Death of Artaxerxes. Xerxes his son succeeds him. He reigns only forty-five days.
		Sogdianus puts Xerxes to death, and causes himself to be acknowledged king in his stead. His reign continues only six months.
3580	424	Ochus, known under the name of Darius Nothus, rids himself of Sogdianus, and succeeds him.

A M	A C	*Persians and Greeks.*
3580	424	The Athenians, under Nicias, make themselves masters of Cythera.
		Thucydides is banished by the Athenians, whose army he commanded, for having suffered Amphipolis to be taken.
		Polygnotus, famed particularly for his painting in the portico called Ποικίλη at Athens, in which he represented the principal events of the Trojan war.
3583	421	Treaty of peace concluded, by the application of Nicias, between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, in the tenth year from the beginning of the Lacedæmonian war. Alcibiades, by an imposture, occasions its being broken the following year.
3584	420	The banishment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the Ostracism.
3588	416	Alcibiades engages the Athenians to assist the people of Egesta against the Syracusans.
3589	415	Alcibiades, one of the generals sent to Sicily by the Athenians, is recalled to Athens to answer accusations against him. He flies to Sparta, and is condemned for contumacy.
3590	414	Pisuthnes, governor of Syria, revolts against Darius. The Egyptians do the same, and choose Amyrtæus for their king, who reigns six years.
3593	411	Alcibiades, to avoid the envy his great actions had drawn upon him at Sparta, throws himself into the arms of Tissaphernes, one of the king of Persia's satraps. The Lacedæmonians, by the help of Tissaphernes, conclude a treaty of alliance with the king of Persia.
3595	409	Alcibiades is recalled to Athens. His return occasions the abolition of the Four Hundred, who had been invested with supreme authority.
		Darius gives Cyrus, his youngest son, the government in chief of all the provinces of Asia Minor.
3598	406	Lysander is placed at the head of the Lacedæmonians. He defeats the Athenians near Ephesus. In consequence of that defeat, Alcibiades is deposed, and ten generals are nominated to succeed him.
3599	405	Callicratidas has the command of the army in the room of Lysander, from whom the Lacedæmonians had taken it. He is killed in a sea-fight near the Arginusæ.
		Lysander is restored to the command of the Lacedæmonian army. He gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamus.
		Conon, who commanded the Athenian forces, retires after his defeat to Evagoras, king of Cyprus.
3600	404	Lysander makes himself master of Athens, changes the form of the government, and establishes thirty Archons, commonly called the thirty tyrants.
		End of the Peleponnesian war.
		Death of Darius Nothus. Arsaces his son succeeds him, and takes the name of Artaxerxes Mnemon.
		Cyrus the younger intends to assassinate his brother Artaxerxes. His design being discovered, he is sent to the maritime provinces, of which he was governor.
3601	403	Interview of Cyrus the younger and Lysander at Sardis.
		Thrasybulus expels the tyrants of Athens, and re-establishes its liberty.
3602	402	Cyrus the younger prepares for a war with his brother Artaxerxes.
3603	401	Defeat and death of Cyrus the younger at Cunaxa, followed by the retreat of the Ten Thousand.
		Death of Socrates.
3604	400	Lacedæmon declares war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabasus.
3606	398	Beginning of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, father of Philip.

A M	A C	*Persians and Greeks.*
3607	397	Agesilaus is elected king of Sparta. The year following he goes to Attica, to the aid of the Greeks settled there.
3609	395	Lysander quarrels with Agesilaus, and undertakes to change the order of the succession to the throne.
		The army of Tissaphernes is defeated near Sardis by Agesilaus.
3610	394	Thebes, Argos, and Corinth, enter into a league against Lacedæmon, at the solicitation of the Persians. Athens enters into the same league soon after. Agesilaus is recalled by the Ephori to the assistance of his country.
		The fleet of the Lacedæmonians is defeated near Cnidos by Pharnabasus, and Conon the Athenian, who commanded that of the Persians and Greeks. Agesilaus defeats the Thebans almost at the same time, in the plains of Coronea.
		Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens.
3617	387	Peace, shameful to the Greeks, concluded with the Persians by Antalcides the Lacedæmonian.
3618	386	Artaxerxes attacks Evagoras, king of Cyprus, with all his forces, and gains a signal victory over him.
		It is followed by the siege of Salamin, which is terminated by a treaty of peace.
3620	384	Expedition of Artaxerxes against the Candusians.
		Birth of Aristotle, founder of the Peripatetics.
3621	383	The Lacedæmonians declare war against the city of Olynthus.
		Birth of Philip, king of Macedon.
3622	382	Phæbidas, on his way to the siege of Olynthus, at the head of part of the army of the Lacedæmonians, makes himself master of the citadel of Thebes.
		Birth of Demosthenes.
3626	378	Pelopidas, at the head of the rest of the exiles, kills the tyrant of Thebes, and retakes the citadel.
3627	377	Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes to reduce Egypt, which had thrown off his yoke for some years. He employs above two years in making preparation for that war.
3629	375	Death of Amyntas, king of Macedonia. Alexander his eldest son succeeds him. He reigns only two years. Perdiccas ascends the throne next, and reigns 14 years.
3630	374	Death of Evagoras, king of Cyprus. Nicocles his son succeeds him.
3634	370	Battle of Leuctra, in which the Thebans, under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, defeat the Lacedæmonians.
3635	369	Expedition of Pelopidas against Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ. He goes to Macedonia, to terminate the differences between Perdiccas and Ptolemy, son of Amyntas, concerning the crown. He carries Philip with him to Thebes as an hostage. He is killed in a battle which he fights with the tyrant of Pheræ.
3641	363	Battle of Mantinea. Epaminondas is killed in it, after having secured the victory to the Thebans.
3642	362	The Lacedæmonians send Agesilaus to aid Tachos, king of Egypt, against Artaxerxes. He dethrones Tachos, and gives the crown to Nectanebus. He dies on his return from that expedition.
		Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Ochus his son succeeds him.
3644	360	Philip ascends the throne of Macedonia. He makes a captious peace with the Athenians.
		The history of the Cappadocians begins at this time, the chronology of whose kings I shall give after that of Alexander's Successors. I shall annex it to that of the Parthians, and of the kings of Pontus.

A M	A C	*Persians and Greeks.*
3646	358	War of the allies with the Athenians. It continued three years.
		Philip besieges and takes Amphipolis.
3648	356	Revolt of Artabasus against Ochus king of Persia.
		Birth of Alexander the Great.
3649	355	Demosthenes appears in public for the first time, and encourages the Athenians, alarmed by the preparations for war making by the king of Persia.
		Beginning of the sacred war.
3650	354	Death of Mausolus, king of Caria.
3651	353	Philip makes himself master of the city of Methone.
3662	352	Artemisia, widow of Mausolus, to whom she had succeeded, takes Rhodes.
		Philip attempts to seize Thermopylæ in vain.
3653	351	Successful expedition of Ochus against Phœnicia, Cyprus, and afterwards Egypt.
3654	350	Nectanebus, the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, is obliged to fly into Ethiopia, from whence he never returns.
3656	348	Death of Plato.
		Philip makes himself master of Olynthus.
3658	346	Philip seizes Thermopylæ, and part of Phocis. He causes himself to be admitted into the number of the Amphictyons.
3662	342	Oration of Demosthenes concerning the Chersonesus, in favour of Diopithus.
3665	339	The Athenians send aid under Phocion to the city of Perinthus and Byzantium, besieged by Philip. That prince is obliged to raise the siege.
3666	338	Philip is declared generalissimo of the Greeks in the council of the Amphictyons. He makes himself master of Elatæa.
		Battle of Cheronæa, wherein Philip defeats the Athenians and the Thebans, who had entered into a league against him.
		Ochus, king of Persia, is poisoned by Bagoas his favourite. Arses his son succeeds him, and reigns only three years.
3667	337	Philip causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks against the Persians. The same year he repudiates his wife Olympias. His son Alexander attends her into Epirus, from whence he goes to Illyria.
3668	336	Philip's death. Alexander his son, then twenty years of age, succeeds him.
		Arses, king of Persia, is assassinated by Bagoas. Darius Codomanus succeeds him.
3669	335	Thebes taken and destroyed by Alexander. He causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks against the Persians in a diet assembled at Corinth.
3670	334	Alexander sets out for Persia.
		Battle of the Granicus, followed with the conquest of almost all Asia Minor.
3671	333	Alexander is taken at Tarsus with a dangerous illness, from having bathed in the river Cydnus. He is cured in a few days.
		Battle of Issus.
3672	332	Alexander makes himself master of Tyre, after a siege of seven months.
		Appelles, one of the most famous painters of antiquity. Aristides and Protogenus were his contemporaries.
		Alexander goes to Jerusalem. He makes himself master of Gaza, and soon after of all Egypt. He went after this conquest to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and at his return built the city of Alexandria.

A M	A C	*Persians and Greeks.*
3673	331	Battle of Arbela. It is followed with the taking of Arbela, Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis.
3674	330	Darius is seized and laden with chains by Bessus, and soon after assassinated. His death puts an end to the Persian empire, which had subsisted 206 years from its foundation under Cyrus the Great.
		The Lacedæmonians revolt against the Macedonians. Antipater defeats them in a battle, wherein Agis their king is killed.
		Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to see Alexander at Zadracrata.
		Philotas, and Parmenio his father, suspected of having conspired with others against Alexander, are put to death.
3675	329	Bessus is brought to Alexander, and soon after put to death.
		Alexander, after having subdued the Sogdians and Bactrians, builds a city upon the Iaxertes, to which he gives his name.
		Embassy of the Scythians to Alexander, followed by a victory gained by him over that people.
		Lysippus of Sicyon, a famous sculptor, flourished about this time.
3676	328	Alexander makes himself master of the rocky eminence of Oxus.
		Clitus is killed by Alexander at a feast in Maracanda. The death of Calisthenes happens soon after.
		Alexander marries Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes.
3677	327	Alexander's entrance into India. He gains a great victory over Porus in passing the Hydaspes.
3978	326	On the remonstrances of his army, Alexander determines to march back.
		The city of Oxadryeæ taken. Alexander in great danger there.
3679	325	Alexander's marriage with Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius.
		Revolt of Harpalus, whom Alexander had made governor of Babylon.
		Demosthenes is banished for having received presents, and suffered himself to be corrupted by Harpalus.
3980	324	Death of Hephæstion at Ecbatana.
		Menander, the inventor of the new comedy, lived about this time.
3681	323	Alexander, on his return to Babylon, dies there, at the age of two-and-thirty years and eight months. Aridæus, that prince's natural brother, is declared king in his stead. The regency of the kingdom is given to Perdiccas.
		The generals divide the provinces among themselves. From this division commences the era of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt.
		The Athenians revolt, and engage the states of Greece to enter into a league with them. Demosthenes is recalled from banishment.
3682	322	Antipater is besieged in Lamia by the Athenians, and is forced to surrender by capitulation. He soon after seizes Athens, and puts a garrison in it.
		Death of Demosthenes.
3683	321	Alexander's magnificent funeral.
		Perdiccas puts Eumenes into possession of Cappadocia.
		League of Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, against Perdiccas and Eumenes.
		Death of Craterus.
		Unfortunate end of Perdiccas in Egypt. Antipater succeeds him in the regency of the empire.
3684	320	Eumenes defeated by Antigonus; shuts himself up in the castle of Nora, where he sustains a siege of a year.
		Ptolemy makes himself master of Jerusalem.
3685	319	Death of Antipater. Polysperchon succeeds him.

A M	*A C*	*Persians and Greeks.*
3685	319	Phocion's condemnation and death at Athens.
		Cassander, the son of Antipater, seizes Athens, and settles Demetrius Phalereus there to govern the republic.
3687	317	Olympias the mother of Alexander, causes Aridæus and Eurydice his wife to be put to death, as she herself is soon after, by order of Cassander.
3689	315	Eumenes is delivered up to Antigonus by his own soldiers, and put to death.
3691	313	Antigonus takes Tyre, after a siege of fifteen months. Demetrius his son, surnamed Poliorcetes, begins to appear.
3691	312	Zeno institutes the sect of the Stoics at Athens.
3693	311	Seleucus makes himself master of Babylon and the neighbouring provinces.
		At this expedition of Seleucus against Babylon, begins the famous era of the Seleucides, called by the Jews the era of contracts.
		Ptolemy retires into Egypt, and carries a great number of the inhabitants of Phœnicia and Judæa thither along with him.
		Cassander causes Roxana and her son Alexander to be put to death.
3695	309	Polysperchon puts Hercules, the son of Alexander, and his mother Berenice, to death.
3696	308	Ophellas, governor of Libya, revolts against Ptolemy.
3698	306	Demetrius Poliorcetes makes himself master of Athens, and re-establishes the democratical government. The same year he makes himself master of Salamin, and the whole island of Cyprus.
		Demetrius Phalereus, who commanded at Athens, retires to Thebes. The Athenians throw down his statues, and condemn him to death.
		Antigonus, and his son Demetrius, assume the title of kings. The other princes follow their example, and do the same.
3699	305	Antigonus, to make the most of his son's victory in Cyprus, undertakes to deprive Ptolemy of Egypt. That expedition does not succeed.
		Ptolemy the astronomer fixes the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy king of Egypt, on the 7th of November of this year.
3700	304	Demetrius Poliorcetes forms the siege of Rhodes, which he is forced to raise a year after.
3701	303	The Rhodians employ the money raised by the sale of the machine which Demetrius had used in the siege of their city, and had given them as a present, in erecting the famous Colossus, called the Colossus of Rhodes.
		Demetrius Poliorcetes is declared general of all the Greeks, by the states of Greece assembled at the isthmus.
3702	302	Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, enter into a league against Antigonus and Demetrius his son.
		Battle of Ipsus, wherein Antigonus is defeated. It is followed by the division of the empire of Alexander amongst the four allied princes.
		Argesilaus, founder of the middle academy.

There is so much connection between the events which happen in the four empires formed out of Alexander's, that it is impossible to separate them: for which reason I shall dispose them all in one column, according to the plan I have followed in treating them in the body of my history. I shall first give a table, that contains only the kings that reigned in each of those kingdoms.

A M	A C	Egypt.	Syria.	Macedonia.	Thrace & Bithyn.
3704	300	Ptolemy Soter.	Seleucus Nicator.	Casssander.	Lysimachus.
3707	297			Philip and Alexander, the sons of Cassander, dispute the kingdom, and possess it almost three years.	
3710	294			Demetrius Poliorcetes.	
3717	287			Pyrrhus and	
3719	285	Ptolemy Philadelphus.		Lysimachus.	
3723	281			Seleucus Nicator, a very short time.	Lysimachus is killed in a battle. After his death his dominions are dismembered, and cease to form a distinct kingdom.

		Egypt.	Syria.	Macedonia.
3724	280		Antiochus Soter.	Ptolemy Ceraunus. His brother Meleager reigned some time after him.
3726	278			Sosthenes.
3728	276			Antigonus Gonatus.
3743	261		Antiochus Theos.	
3758	246	Ptolemy Evergetes.	Seleucus Callinicus.	
3762	242			Demetrius, son of Antigonus Gonatus.
3772	232			Antigonus Doson.
3778	226		Seleucus Ceraunus.	
3781	223		Antiochus the Great.	
3783	221	Ptolemy Philopator.		
3784	220			Philip.
3800	204	Ptolemy Epiphanes.		
3817	187		Seleucus Philopator.	
3824	180	Ptolemy Philometer.		
3825	179			Perseus, the last king of the Macedonians.

		Egypt.	Syria.
3829	175		Antiochus Epiphanes.
3840	164		Antiochus Eupator.
3842	162		Demetrius Soter.
3854	150		Alexander Bala.
3859	145	Ptolemy Physcon.	Demetrius Nicator.
3860	144		Antiochus Theos, the son of Bala, seizes part of Syria. Tryphon does the same soon after.
3866	140		Antiochus Sidetes puts Tryphon to death, and reigns in his room.
3877	127		Zebina succeeds Demetrius Nicator.

A M	A C	Egypt.	Syria.
3880	124		Seleucus the son of Nicator.
			Antiochus Grypus.
3887	117	Ptolemy Lathyrus.	
3890	114		Antiochus the Cyzicenian divides the kingdom with Grypus.
3897	107	Alexander I. brother of Lathyrus.	
3907	97		Seleucus, son of Grypus.
3911	93		Antiochus Eusebes.
3912	92		Antiochus, second son of Grypus.
3913	91		Philip, third son of Grypus.
3914	90		Demetrius Eucheres, fourth son of Grypus.
3919	85		Antiochus Dionysius, fifth son of Grypus.
			The four last named kings reigned successively with Eusebes.
3921	83		Tigranes, during fourteen years.
3923	81	Alexander II. son of Alexander I.	
3935	69		Antiochus Asiaticus.
3939	65	Ptolemy Auletes.	
3946	58	Berenice, the eldest daughter of Auletes, reigns some time in his stead; after which that prince is restored.	
3953	51	Cleopatra reigns at first with her eldest brother, then with Ptolemy, her youngest brother, and at last alone.	

Alexander's Successors.

3704	300	Seleucus, king of Syria, builds Antioch.
		Athens refuses to receive Demetrius Poliorcetes.
3707	297	Death of Cassander king of Macedon. Philip his son succeeds him. He reigns only one year, and is succeeded by Alexander his brother. About this time Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, espouses Antigone, of the house of Ptolemy, and returns into his dominions, out of which he had been driven by the Molossi.
3709	295	Demetrius Poliorcetes retakes Athens. Lysimachus and Ptolemy, almost at the same time, deprive him of all he possessed.
3710	294	Demetrius puts to death Alexander king of Macedonia, who had called him in to his aid, and seizes his dominions, where he reigns seven years.
3711	293	Foundation of the city of Seleucia by Seleucus.
3717	287	Pyrrhus and Lysimachus take Macedonia from Demetrius. The latter dies miserably the year following in prison.
3719	285	Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, resigns the throne to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus.
		Foundation of the kingdom of Pergamus by Philiterrus.
3721	283	Demetrius Phalereus is shut up in a fort by order of Philadelphus, and kills himself there.
3722	282	Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria, declares war against Lysimachus, king of Macedonia.
3723	281	Lysimachus is killed in a battle in Phrygia. Seleucus enters Macedonia to take possession of the kingdom. He is assassinated there by Ceraunus. Antiochus Soter, his son, succeeds him in the kingdom of Syria.

A M	A C	*Alexander's Successors.*
3724	288	Ceraunus, to secure the kingdom of Macedonia to himself, puts the two children of Lysimachus by Arsinoe to death, and banishes her into Samothracia.
		The republic of the Achæans resumes its ancient form, which it had lost under Philip and Alexander.
		Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, called in by the Tarentines, goes to Italy to make war against the Romans. He gives them battle for the first time near Heraclea, where the advantage is entirely on his side. He is again successful in a second battle fought the year following.
3725	279	Irruption of the Gauls into Macedonia. Ceraunus gives them battle, in which he is killed. Meleager his brother succeeds him.
3726	278	Pyrrhus abandons Italy, and goes to Sicily, which he conquers.
		Sosthenes drives the Gauls out of Macedonia. He is made king there, and reigns two years.
		Attempt of the Gauls upon the temple of Delphos.
3727	277	Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, causes the Holy Scriptures to be translated into Greek.
3728	276	Death of Sosthenes. Antigonus Gonatus, son of Poliorcetes, who reigned afterwards during ten years in Greece, makes himself king of Macedonia in his room. Antiochus, king of Syria, disputes the possession of it with him. Their difference terminates by the marriage of Antigonus with Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus.
3729	275	Antiochus defeats the Gauls in a bloody battle, and delivers the country from their oppressions. By this victory he acquires the name of Soter.
3730	274	Pyrrhus returns into Italy, and is defeated by the Romans. He goes to Macedonia, where he attacks and defeats Antigonus.
		Ptolemy Philadelphus, in effect of the reputation of the Romans, sends an embassy to them to demand their amity.
3732	272	Pyrrhus undertakes the siege of Sparta, and cannot reduce it. He is killed the next year at the siege of Argos.
3736	268	Antigonus Gonatus makes himself master of Athens, which had entered into a league with the Lacedæmonians against him.
3639	265	Abantidas makes himself tyrant of Sicyon, after having put Clinias its governor to death.
		Magus, governor of Cyrenaica and Lybia, revolts against Ptolemy Philadelphus.
3741	263	Death of Philiterrus, king and founder of Pergamus. Eumenes his nephew succeeds him.
3743	261	Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, causes his son Antiochus to be proclaimed king. He dies soon after.
		Berosus of Babylon, the historian, lived about this time.
3746	258	Accommodation between Magus and Ptolemy Philadelphus.
3749	255	War between Antiochus, king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philadelphus.
3752	253	Aratus, the son of Clinias, delivers Sicyon from tyranny, and unites it with the Achæan league.
3754	250	Arsaces revolts against Agathocles, governor for Antiochus in the country of the Parthians. About the same time Theodorus governor of Bactriana revolts, and causes himself to be declared king of that province.
3755	249	Treaty of peace between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philadelphus, which puts an end to the war. By one of the conditions of that treaty, Antiochus repudiates Laodice, and marries Berenice, Ptolemy's daughter.

A M	A C	*Alexander's Successors.*
3756	248	Agis, king of Sparta, endeavours to revive the ancient institutions of Lycurgus. Leonidas, his colleague, is deposed for refusing to consent to it. Cleombrotus, his son-in-law, reigns in his stead.
3757	247	Death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Evergetes his son succeeds him.
		Appollonius of Rhodes, author of a poem upon the expedition of the Argonauts.
3758	246	Antiochus, surnamed Theos, king of Syria, is poisoned by his wife Laodice. She afterwards causes her son Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king.
		Berenice, and her son by Antiochus, are assassinated by Laodice.
		Ptolemy Evergetes, Berenice's brother, undertakes to revenge her death. He makes himself master of great part of Syria.
3760	244	The cities of Smyrna and Magnesia enter into an alliance to aid the king of Syria against Ptolemy Evergetes.
		Aratus makes himself master of the citadel of Corinth.
		Leonidas is restored at Sparta, Cleombrotus sent into banishment, and Agis put to death.
3762	242	Death of Antigonus Gonatus, king of Macedonia. Demetrius his son succeeds him.
		Seleucus, king of Syria, enters into a war with Antiochus Hierax his brother. The latter has the advantage in a battle near Ancyra in Galatia.
3763	241	Death of Eumenes king of Pergamus. Attalus his cousin-german succeeds him.
3765	239	Eratosthenes, the Cyrenian, is made librarian to Ptolemy Evergetes.
3771	233	Joseph, nephew of the high-priest Onias, is sent ambassador to Ptolemy Evergetes.
3772	232	Death of Demetrius, king of Macedonia. Antigonus, guardian of Philip, son of Demetrius, succeeds him.
		Polycletus of Sicyon, a famous sculptor.
3774	230	Seleucus, king of Syria, is defeated and taken prisoner by Arsaces, king of the Parthians.
3776	228	Cleomenes, king of Sparta, gains a great victory over the Achæans and Aratus.
3778	226	Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, dies amongst the Parthians of a fall from an horse. Seleucus Ceraunus his eldest son succeeds him.
		Antiochus Hierax is assassinated by thieves on leaving Egypt.
		Aratus defeats Aristippus, tyrant of Argos. He prevails upon Lysiades, tyrant of Megalopolis, to renounce the tyranny, and makes his city enter into the Achæan league.
3779	225	The Romans send a famous embassy into Greece, to impart to the Greeks the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. The Corinthians declare by a public decree, that they shall be admitted to share in the celebration of the Isthmian games. The Athenians also grant them the freedom of Athens.
		Antigonus, king of Macedonia, by the management of Aratus, is called in to aid the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians.
3781	223	Cleomenes, king of Sparta, takes Megalopolis.
		Battle of Selasia, followed with the taking of Sparta by Antigonus.
		Death of Seleucus Ceraunus, king of Syria. Antiochus his brother, surnamed the Great, succeeds him.
3782	222	The Colossus of Rhodes is thrown down by a great earthquake.
3783	221	Death of Ptolemy Evergetes, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Philopator succeeds him.

A M	*A C*	*Alexander's Successors.*
3783	221	The Ætolians gain a great victory at Caphyæ over the Achæans.
3784	220	Antiochus reduces Molon and Alexander, who had revolted against him two years before, the first in Media, the second in Persia.
		Death of Antigonus, king of Macedonia. Philip, the son of Demetrius, succeeds him.
		Cleomenes, king of Sparta, dies in Egypt. The Lacedæmonians elect Agesipolis and Lycurgus to succeed him.
		War of the allies with the Ætolians, in favour of the Achæans.
3785	219	Hermias, prime minister of Antiochus, is put to death by that prince's orders.
3787	217	Battle of Raphia, between Ptolemy king of Egypt, and Antiochus king of Syria.
		Treaty of peace between Philip king of Macedonia and the Achæans on the one side, and the Ætolians on the other, which puts an end to the war of the allies.
3788	216	Antiochus besieges Achæus, who had revolted, in Sardis, and after a siege of two years he is delivered up by the treachery of a Cretan.
		Hannibal's alliance with Philip king of Macedonia.
3789	215	Philip receives a considerable blow from the Romans at the siege of Appollonia.
3790	214	Carneades, founder of a new academy.
3792	212	Antiochus undertakes to reduce the provinces which had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire, and effects it in the space of seven years.
3793	211	Alliance of the Ætolians with the Romans. Attalus king of Pergamus enters into it. The Lacedæmonians come into it some time after.
3796	208	Famous battle between Philip king of Macedonia and the Ætolians near Elis. Philopœmen distinguishes himself in it.
3798	206	Battle of Mantinea, wherein Philopœmen defeats Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta, who perishes in it. Nabis is set in his place.
3800	204	Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans. All the allies on both sides are included in it.
		Polybius is said to have been born this year.
		Death of Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt.
		Ptolemy Epiphanes, at that time only five years old, succeeds him.
3801	203	League between Philip of Macedon, and Antiochus king of Syria, against the young king of Egypt.
3802	202	Philip, king of Macedonia, is defeated by the Rhodians in a sea-fight off the island of Clio. That prince's cruel treatment of the Cyaneans seems to be properly dated the following year.
3803	201	Philip besieges and takes Abydos.
3804	200	The Romans declare war with Philip. P. Sulpitius is appointed to command in it. He gains a considerable victory near the town of Octolopha in Macedonia.
3805	199	Villicus succeeds Sulpitius in the command of the army against Philip. The year following Flamininus is sent to succeed Villicus.
3806	198	Antiochus, king of Syria, subjects Palestine and Cœlosyria.
		The Achæans declare for the Romans against Philip.
3807	197	Interview of Philip and the consul Flamininus.
		Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, declares for the Romans. The Bœotians do the same.
		Death of Attalus, king of Pergamus. Eumenes succeeds him.
		Battle of Cynoscephale, where the Romans gain a complete victory over Philip.
3808	196	Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans, which puts an end to the war.

A M	A C	*Alexander's Successors.*
3808	196	Embassy of the Romans to Antiochus the Great, in order to be assured whether the complaints against him were justly founded.
		Conspiracy of Scopas the Ætolian, against Ptolemy Ephiphanes, discovered and punished.
3809	195	Flamininus makes war against Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta.
3813	191	Philopœmen gains a considerable advantage over Nabis, near Sparta.
		The Ætolians resolve so seize Demetrias, Chalcis, and Sparta, by treachery and stratagem.
		Nabis is killed. Philopœmen makes the Lacedæmonians enter into the Achæan league.
		Antiochus goes to Greece to the aid of the Ætolians. The Romans declare war against him, and soon after defeat him near the straits of Thermopylæ.
3814	190	Battle of Magnesia, followed by a treaty of peace, which puts an end to the war between the Romans and Antiochus, which had subsisted about two years.
		The philosopher Penætius was born about this time.
3815	189	The consul Fulvius forces the Ætolians to submit to the Romans. Manlius, his colleague, almost at the same time, subjects all the Gauls in Asia.
		The cruel treatment of the Spartans by their exiles, supported by Philopœmen, happened this year.
3817	187	Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, is killed in the temple of Jupiter Belus, which he had entered in order to plunder it. Seleucus Philopator succeeds him.
3821	183	Philopœmen is taken before Messene by Democrates, and put to death.
3823	181	Demetrius, son of Philip king of Macedonia, is unjustly accused by his brother Perseus, and put to death.
3824	180	Death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Philometer succeeds him.
3825	179	Death of Philip, king of Macedonia. Perseus his son succeeds him.
3829	175	Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, is poisoned by Heliodorus, whom he had sent a little before to take Jerusalem. He is succeeded by Antiochus Epiphanes.
3830	174	Antiochus Epiphanes causes Onias the high-priest of Jerusalem to be deposed, and sets Jason in his place.
3833	171	War between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philometer.
		The Romans declare war against Perseus. That prince has some advantage in the first battle near the river Peneus.
3834	170	Antiochus Epiphanes makes himself master of all Egypt. He marches afterwards to Jerusalem, where he commits unheard-of cruelties.
3835	169	The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometer, who had fallen into the hands of Antiochus, make Ptolemy Evergetes, his younger brother, king.
		Philometer is set at liberty the same year, and unites with his brother. That union induces Antiochus to renew the war.
3836	168	Paulus Æmilius is charged with the Macedonian war, against Perseus. He gains a famous victory over that prince near Pydna, which puts an end to the kingdom of Macedonia. It was not reduced, however, into a province of the Roman empire, till twenty years after.
		The prætor Anicius subjects Illyria in thirty days.

A M	*A C*	*Alexander's Successors.*
3836	168	Popilius, one of the ambassadors sent by the Romans into Egypt, obliges Antiochus to quit it, and come to an accommodation with the two brothers.
		Antiochus, exasperated at what had happened in Egypt, turns his rage against the Jews, and sends Appollonius to Jerusalem.
		The same year he publishes a decree to oblige all nations in subjection to him, to renounce their own religion, and conform to his. This law occasions a cruel persecution among the Jews.
3837	167	Antiochus goes in person to Jerusalem, to see his orders put in execution. The martyrdom of the Maccabees, and the death of Eleazar, happened at that time.
		Paulus Æmilius abandons the cities of Epirus to be plundered by his army, for having taken Perseus's part. The Achæans, suspected of having favoured that prince, are sent to Rome to give an account of their conduct. The senate banish them into different towns of Italy, from whence they are not suffered to return home till seventeen years after. Polybius was of this number.
3838	166	Prusias, king of Bithynia, goes to Rome. Eumenes king of Pergamus is not permitted to enter it.
		Death of Mattathias. Judas his son succeeds him, and gains many victories over the generals of Antiochus.
3840	164	Antiochus Epiphanes is repulsed before Elymais, where he intended to plunder the temple. He marches towards Judæa, with design to exterminate the Jews. The hand of God strikes him on the way, and he dies with the most exquisite torments. Antiochus Eupator, his son, succeeds him.
3841	163	Antiochus Eupator marches against Jerusalem. He is soon after obliged to return into Syria, in order to expel Philip of Antioch, who had made himself master of his capital.
3842	162	Difference between Philometer, king of Egypt, and Physcon his brother, which does not terminate till after the expiration of five years.
		Octavius, ambassador for the Romans in Syria, is assassinated.
		Demetrius Soter, the son of Seleucus Philopator, flies from Rome, where he had been kept as an hostage, to Syria, where he causes Antiochus Eupator to be put to death, and seizes the throne.
3843	161	Death of Judas Maccabeus.
3844	160	Demetrius is acknowledged king of Syria by the Romans.
3845	159	Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus Philometer succeeds him.
3848	156	War between Attalus and Prusias.
3851	153	Alexander Bala pretends himself the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and in that quality attempts to cause himself to be acknowledged king of Syria.
3852	152	Andriscus of Adramyttium pretends himself the son of Perseus, and undertakes to cause himself to be declared king of Macedonia. He is conquered, taken, and sent to Rome by Metellus.
3854	150	Demetrius Soter is killed in a battle between him and Alexander Bala. His death leaves the latter in possession of the empire of Syria.
3856	148	Macedonia is reduced into a province of the Roman empire.
3857	147	Troubles in Achaia promoted by Diæus and Critolaus. The commissioners sent thither by the Romans are insulted.
3858	146	Metellus goes to Achaia, where he gains several advantages over the the Achæans. Mummius succeeds him; and, after a great battle near Leucopetra, takes Corinth, and entirely demolishes it.

A M	A C	*Alexander's Successors.*		
3858	146	Greece is reduced into a Roman province, under the name of the province of Achaia.		
		The sequel of the history of the kings of Syria is much embroiled; for which reason I shall separate it from that of the Egyptians, in order to complete its chronology.		
		Syria.		*Egypt.*
3859	145	Demetrius Nicator,		Death of Ptolemy
3860	144	son of Demetrius Soter, defeats Alexander Bala, and ascends the throne.	Antiochus, surnamed Theos, son of Bala, supported by Tryphon, makes himself master of part of the kingdom.	Philomcter. Ptolemy Physcon his brother succeeds him.
			Tryphon gets Jonathan into his hands, and puts him to death	
3863	141	Demetrius marches against the Parthians. After some small advantages, he is taken prisoner.	at Ptolemais. The year following he murders his pupil Antiochus, and seizes the kingdom of Syria.	
3864	140		Antiochus Sidetes,	
3866	138		the second son of Demetrius Soter, marries Cleopatra, the wife of his brother Demetrius Nicator; and after having put Tryphon to	Death of Attalus king of Pergamus. Attalus, his nephew, surnamed Philometer, succeeds him. He reigns 5 years.
3868	136		death, he is declared king himself.	The cruelties of Physcon at Alexandria oblige
3869	135		Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.	most of the inhabitants to quit the place.
3871	133			(Attalus Philometer,
3873	131		Antiochus marches against the Parthians, and gains many advantages over them. They send back Demetrius the year following.	king of Pergamus, at his death leaves his dominions to the Roman people. Andronicus seizes them.)
3874	130	Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.		(The consul Perpenna defeats Andronicus, and sends him to Rome. The kingdom of Pergamus is reduced the year following into a Roman province by Manius Aquilius.)
				Physcon repudiates Cleopatra, his first wife, and marries his daughter of the same name. He is soon after obliged to fly, and the Alex-

A M	A C	Syria.		Egypt.
				andrians give the government to Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated.
3877	127	Demetrius is killed by Alexander Zebina, who takes his place, and causes himself to be acknowledged king of Syria.		Physcon re-ascends the throne of Egypt.
3880	124	Seleucus V. eldest		
3882	122	son of Demetrius Nicator, is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra. Antiochus Grypus succeeds him.	Zebina is defeated by Grypus, and dies soon after.	Physcon gives his daughter in marriage to Grypus king of Syria.
3884	120	Cleopatra attempts to		
3887	117	poison Grypus, and is		
3890	114	poisoned herself.	Antiochus the Cyzicenian, son of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetes, takes arms against Grypus. He has the worst in the beginning; but in two years obliges his	Death of Physcon. Ptolemy Lathyrus succeeds him. Cleopatra, his mother obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra, his eldest sister, and to marry Selena, his youngest.
3891	113		brother to divide the kingdom of Syria with him.	Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander, her youngest son.
3897	107			Cleopatra drives Lathyrus out of Egypt, and places his brother Alexander upon the throne.
3900	104			Signal victory of Lathyrus over Alexander king of the Jews, upon the banks of the Jordan.
3901	103			Cleopatra forces Lathyrus to raise the siege of Ptolemais, and takes that city herself.
3903	101			
3907	97	Death of Grypus. Se-		Cleopatra takes her daughter Selena from
3910	94	leucus his son succeeds him.	Antiochus the Cyzicenian is defeated, and	Lathyrus, and makes her marry Antiochus
3911	93	Seleucus is defeated by Eusebes, and burned in Mopsuestia.	put to death. Antiochus Eusebes,	the Cyzicenian.
3912	92	Antiochus, brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem. He is presently after defeated by Eu-	the son of the Cyzicenian, causes himself to be declared king. He marries Selena the widow of Grypus.	

A M	A C	Syria.		Egypt.
		sebes, and drowned in the Orontes.		
3913	91	Philip, his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him.		
3914	90	Demetrius Eucheres,		
3915	89	fourth son of Grypus, is established king at		Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.
3916	88	Damascus, by the aid of Lathyrus.	Eusebus, defeated by Philip and Demetrius,	Alexander is expelled, and dies soon after.
3919	85	Demetrius having been taken by the Parthians, Antiochus Dionysius, the fifth son of Grypus, is set upon the throne, and killed the following year.	retires to the Parthians, who re-establish him upon the throne two years after.	Lathyrus is recalled.
3921	83	The Syrians, weary of so many changes, choose Tigranes, king of Armenia, for their king. He reigns four-	Eusebus takes refuge in Cilicia, where he remains concealed.	
3922	82	teen years by a viceroy.		Lathyrus ruins Thebes in Egypt, where the rebels he had before defeated had taken refuge.
3923	81			Death of Lathyrus. Alexander II. son of Alexander I. under the protection of Sylla, is elected king.
3928	76			Death of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia.
3935	69	Tigranes recalls Magdalus his viceroy in Syria.	Antiochus Asiaticus takes possession of Syria, and reigns four years.	His kingdom is reduced into a Roman province, as is Cyrenaica the same year.
3939	65		Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a Roman province.	Alexander is driven out of Egypt. Ptolemy Auletes, Lathyrus's natural son, is set in his place.

		Egypt.
3946	58	The Romans depose Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, and seize that island. Cato is charged with that commission. Ptolemy Auletes is obliged to fly from Egypt. Berenice, the eldest of his daughters, is declared queen in his stead.
3949	55	Gabinius and Antony restore Auletes to the entire possession of his dominions.
3953	51	Death of Ptolemy Auletes. He leaves his dominions to his eldest son and daughter, the famous Cleopatra.
3956	48	Ponthinus and Achillas, the young king's guardians, deprive Cleopatra of her share in the government, and drive her out of Egypt.
3957	47	Death of the king of Egypt. Cæsar places Cleopatra upon the throne, with Ptolemy her youngest brother.

A M	A C	*Alexander's Successors.*		
3961	43	Cleopatra poisons her brother when he comes of age to share the sovereign authority according to the laws. She afterwards declares for the Roman triumviri.		
3963	41	Cleopatra goes to Antony at Tarsus in Cilicia. She gains the ascendant of him, and carries him with her to Alexandria.		
3971	33	Antony makes himself master of Armenia, and brings the king prisoner to Cleopatra. Coronation of Cleopatra and all her children. Rupture between Cæsar and Antony. Cleopatra accompanies the latter, who repudiates Octavia at Athens.		
3973	31	Cleopatra flies at the battle of Actium. Antony follows her, and thereby abandons the victory to Cæsar.		
3974	30	Antony dies in the arms of Cleopatra. Cæsar makes himself master of Alexandria. Cleopatra kills herself. Egypt is reduced into a Roman province.		
		Cappadocia.	*Parthian Empire.*	*Pontus.*
3490	514			The kingdom of Pontus was founded by Darius the son of Hystaspes, in the year 3490. Artabasus was the first king of it. His successors, down to Mithridates, are little known.
3600	404			Mithridates I. He is commonly considered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus.
3638	366			Ariobarzanes. He
3644	360	Ariarathes I. was the		reigns 26 years.
3667	337	first king of Cappadocia. He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes.		Mithridates II. He reigns 35 years.
3668	336	Ariarathes II. son of the first. He was deprived of his dominions by Perdiccas, who set Eumenes on the throne.		
3689	315	Ariarathes III. as-		
3702	302	cends the throne of Cappadocia after the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes.		Mithridates III. reigns 36 years. The reigns of the three kings who succeed him, include the space of an hundred years. The last of them was Mithridates IV. great grandfather of Mithridates the Great.
3702	284	Ariamnes.		
3754	250	Ariarathes IV.	Arsaces I. founder of the Parthian Empire.	
			Arsaces II. brother of the first.	
			Priapatius.	
			Phraates I.	
3814	190	Ariarathes V.		
3819	185			Pharnaces, son of
3840	164		Mithridates I.	Mithridates IV.
3842	162	Ariarathes VI. sur-		
3873	131	named Philopator.	Phraates II.	

A M	*A C*	*Cappadocia.*	*Parthian Empire.*	*Pontus.*
3873	131			Mithridates V. surnamed Evergetes.
3875	129	Ariarathes VII.	Artabasus. After a very short reign he is succeeded by Mithridates II. who reigns 40 years.	
3881	123			Mithridates VI. surnamed the Great.
3913	91	Ariarathes VIII. Mithridates, king of Pontus, puts him to death, and sets his son upon the throne. Soon after, Ariarathes IX. takes Cappadocia from the son of Mithridates, who is presently after re-established by his father.		Mithridates seizes Cappadocia, and makes his son king of it.
3914	90	Sylla enters Cappadocia, drives the son of Mithridates out of it, and sets Ariobarzanes I. upon the throne.		
3915	89	Tigranes, king of Armenia, drives Ariobarzanes out of Cappadocia, and reinstates the	Mnaschires, and after him Sinatroces. These two princes reign about 20 years.	Beginning of the war between Mithridates and the Romans.
3916	88	son of Mithridates.		Mithridates causes all the Romans in Asia Minor to be massacred in one day.
3917	87			Archelaus, one of the generals of Mithridates, seizes Athens and most of the cities of Greece.
3918	86			Sylla is charged with the war against Mithridates. He retakes Athens after a long siege.
3920	84			Victory of Sylla over the generals of Mithridates near Cheronea. He gains a second battle soon after at Orchomenos.
3921	83			Treaty of peace between Mithridates and Sylla, which terminates the war.
3926	78	Sylla obliges Mithridates to restore Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes. Tigranes dispossesses him of it a second time. After the war with Mith-		Mithridates puts his son to death. Second war between Mithridates and the Romans. It subsists something less than three years.
3928	76	ridates, Pompey reinstates Ariobarzanes. His		Mithridates makes an alliance with Sertorius.
3929	75	reign, and the very short one of his son, continues		Beginning of the third war of Mithridates a-

A M	A C	*Cappadocia.*	*Parthian Empire.*	*Pontus.*
		down to about the year 3953.		gainst the Romans. Lucullus and Cotta are placed at the head of the Roman army.
3930	74			Cotta is defeated by sea and land, and forced to shut himself up in Chalcedon. Lucullus goes to his aid.
3931	73			Mithridates forms the siege of Cyzicum. Lucullus obliges him to raise it at the end of two years, and pursues and beats him near the Granicus.
3933	71			Mithridates defeated in the plains of Cebiare. He retires to Tigranes.
3934	70			Lucullus declares war
3935	69		Phraates III. who assumes the surname of the Good.	against Tigranes, and soon after defeats him, and takes Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia.
3936	68			Lucullus defeats Tigranes and Mithridates, who had joined their forces near the river Arsamia.
3937	67			Mithridates recovers all his dominions, in effect of the misunderstandings that take place in the Roman army.
3938	66			Pompey is appointed to succeed Lucullus. He gains many advantages over Mithridates, and obliges him to fly.
				Tigranes surrenders himself to Pompey.
3939	65			Pompey makes him-
3948	56		Mithridates, eldest	self master of Caina, in
			son of Phraates.	which the treasures of
3950	54		Orodes.	Mithridates were laid
			Unfortunate expedi-	up.
			tion of Crassus against	Death of Mithridates.
			the Parthians.	Pharnaces his son,
3953	51	Ariobarzanes III.		whom the army had e-
		He is put to death by		lected king, submits his
		Cassius.		person and dominions
				to the Romans.
3962	42	Ariarathes X.	Ventidius, general of	
3973	31	M. Antony drives	the Romans, gains a	
		Ariarathes out of Cap-	victory over the Par-	

A M	A C	*Cappadocia.*	*Parthian Empire.*	*Pontus.*
		padocia, and sets Archelaus in his place. On the death of that prince, which happened in the year of the world 4022, Cappadocia was reduced into a Roman province.	thians, which retrieves the honour they had lost at the battle of Craræ.	

		Syracuse.	*Carthage.*
		Syracuse is said to have been founded in the year of the world 3295; before Christ 709.	Carthage was founded in the year of the world 3158, before Christ 846.
3501	503		First treaty between the Carthaginians and Romans. It appears, that the Carthaginians had carried their arms into Sicily before this treaty, as they were in possession of part of it when it was concluded: But what year they did so is not known.
3520	484	Gelon's beginning.	The Carthaginians make an alliance with Xerxes.
3523	481		The Carthaginians, under Amilcar, attack the Greeks settled in Sicily. They are beaten by Gelon.
3525	479	Gelon is elected king of Syracuse. He reigns five or six years.	
3532	472	Hiero I. He reigns 11 years.	
3543	461	Thrasybulus. In a year's time he is expelled by his subjects.	
3544	460	The Syracusans enjoy their liberty during sixty years.	
3589	415	The Athenians, assisted by the	
3592	412	people of Segesta, undertake the siege of Syracuse under their general Nicias. They are obliged to raise it at the end of two years. The Syracusans pursue and defeat them entirely.	The Carthaginians send troops under Hannibal, to aid the people of Segesta against the Syracusans.
3593	411	Beginning of Dionysius the el-	
3595	409	der.	Hannibal and Imilcon are sent
3598	406	Dionysius, after having deposed the ancient magistrates of Syracuse, is placed at the head of the new ones, and soon after causes himself to be declared generalissimo.	to conquer Sicily. They open the campaign with the siege of Agrigentum.
3600	404	Revolt of the Syracusans against Dionysius, upon account of the taking of Gela by the Carthaginians. It is followed by a treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Syracusans, by one of the conditions of which Syracuse is to continue in subjection to Dionysius. He establishes the tyranny in his own person.	The war made by the Carthaginians in Sicily is terminated by a treaty of peace with the Syracusans.

A M	*A C*	*Syracuse.*	*Carthage.*
3600	404	New troubles at Syracuse against Dionysius. He finds means to put an end to them.	
3605	399	Dionysius makes great preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians.	Imilcon goes to Sicily with an army to carry on the war against Dionysius. It subsists four or five years.
3607	397	Massacre of all the Carthaginians in Sicily, followed by a declaration of war, which Dionysius caused to be signified to them by an herald, whom he dispatched to Carthage.	
3615	389	Dionysius takes Rhegium by capitulation. The next year he breaks the treaty, and makes himself master of it again by force.	
3632	372	Death of Dionysius the elder. His son, Dionysius the younger, succeeds him. By the advice of Dion, his brother-in-law, he causes Plato to come to his court.	
		Dion, banished by the order of Dionysius, retires into Peloponnesus.	
3643	361	Dionysius makes Arete his sister, the wife of Dion, marry Timocrates, one of his friends. That treatment makes Dion resolve to attack the tyrant by open force.	
3644	360	Dion obliges Dionysius to abandon Syracuse. He sets sail for Italy.	
3646	358	Callippus causes Dion to be assassinated, and makes himself master of Syracuse, where he reigns about thirteen months.	
3647	357	Happarinus, brother of Dionysius the younger, drives Callippus out of Syracuse, and establishes himself in his place for two years.	
3654	350	Dionysius reinstated.	Second treaty of peace concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians.
3656	348	The Syracusans call in Timoleon to their aid.	The Carthaginians make a new attempt to seize Sicily. They are defeated by Timoleon, sent by the Corinthians to the aid of the Syracusans.
3657	347	Dionysius is forced by Timoleon to surrender himself, and to retire to Corinth.	
3658	346	Timoleon abolishes tyranny at Syracuse, and throughout Sicily, the liberty of which he reinstates.	Hanno, citizen of Carthage, forms the design of making himself master of his country.
3672	332		Embassy of Tyre to Carthage, to demand aid against Alexander the Great.
3685	319	Agathocles makes himself tyrant at Syracuse.	

A M	A C	*Syracuse.*	*Carthage.*
3685	319		Beginning of the wars between the Carthaginians and Agathocles in Sicily and Africa.
3724	280	A Roman legion seizes Rhegium by treachery.	
3727	277		The Carthaginians send the Romans aid, under Mago, against Pyrrhus.
3729	275	Hiero and Artemidorus are made supreme magistrates by the Syracusan troops.	
3736	268	Hiero is declared king by the Syracusans.	
3741	263	Appius Claudius goes to Sicily to aid the Mamertines against the Carthaginians. Hiero, who was at first against him, comes to an accommodation with him, and makes an alliance with the Romans.	Beginning of the first Punic war with the Romans. It subsists twenty-four years.
3743	261		The Romans besiege the Carthaginians in Agrigentum, and take the city after a siege of seven months.
3745	259		Sea-fight between the Romans and Carthaginians, near the coast of Myle.
3749	255		Sea-fight near Ecnome in Sicily.
3750	254		Regulus in Africa. He is taken prisoner.
			Xanthippus comes to the aid of the Carthaginians.
3755	259		Regulus is sent to Rome to propose the exchange of prisoners. At his return the Carthaginians put him to death with the most cruel torments.
3756	248		Siege of Lilybæum by the Romans.
3763	241	Hiero sends the Carthaginians aid against the foreign mercenaries.	Defeat of the Carthaginians near the islands Ægates, followed by a treaty, that puts an end to the Punic war.
			War of Lybia against the foreign mercenaries. It subsists three years and four months.
3767	237		The Carthaginians give up Sardinia to the Romans, and engage to pay them 1200 talents.
3776	228		Amilcar is killed in Spain. Asdrubal, his son-in-law, succeeds him in the command of the army.
			Hannibal is sent into Spain upon the demand of his uncle Asdrubal.
3784	220		Asdrubal's death. Hannibal is made general of the army in his stead.
3786	218	Hiero goes to meet the consul Tib. Sempronius, in order to offer him his services against the Carthaginians.	Siege of Saguntum.
			Beginning of the second Punic war, which subsists seventeen years.
3787	217		Hannibal enters Italy, and gains the battles of Ticinus and Trebia.
3788	216		Battle of Thracymenus.

A M	A C	Syracuse.	Carthage.
3788	216		Hannibal deceives Fabius at the straits of Cassilinum. Cn. Scipio defeats the Carthaginians in Spain.
3789	215	Death of Hiero. Hieronymus his grandson succeeds him. Hieronymus abandons the party of the Romans, and enters into an alliance with Hannibal. He is assassinated soon after. His death is followed with great troubles to Syracuse.	Battle of Cannæ. Hannibal retires to Capus after this battle.
3790	214		Asdrubal is beaten in Spain by the two Scipios.
3792	212	Marcellus takes Syracuse, after a siege of three years.	

A M	A C	Carthage.
3793	211	The two Scipios are killed in Spain. The Romans besiege Capua.
3794	210	Hannibal advances to Rome, and besieges it. The Romans soon after take Capua.
3798	206	Asdrubal enters Italy. He is defeated by the consul Livius, whom the other Nero had joined.
3799	205	Scipio makes himself master of all Spain. He is made consul the year following, and goes to Africa.
3802	202	Hannibal is recalled to the aid of his country.
3803	201	Interview of Hannibal and Scipio in Africa, followed by a bloody battle, in which the Romans gain a complete victory.
3804	200	Treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Romans, which puts an end to the second Punic war. Fifty years elapsed between the end of the second and the beginning of the third Punic wars.
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Amyntas I. king of Macedonia, submits to Darius, ii. 263.

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Andromachus, governor of Syria and Palestine for Alexander, iv. 216; sad end of that governor, ibid.

Andromachus, father of Aehæus, is taken and kept prisoner by Ptolemy Evergetes, v. 179; Ptolemy Philopator sets him at liberty, and restores him to his son, 189.

Andronicus, general for Antigonus, makes himself master of Tyre, iv. 447; he is besieged in that place by Ptolemy, and forced to surrender, 451.

Andronicus, Perseus's officer, put to death, and why, v, 547.

Andronicus of Rhodes, to whom the world is indebted for the works of Aristotle, v. 274.

Androsthenes, commander for Philip at Corinth, is defeated by Nicostratus, prætor of the Achæans, v. 318.

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Anicius, Roman prætor, is charged with the war against Gentius king of Illyria, v. 561; he defeats that prince, takes him prisoner, and sends him to Rome, ibid.; he receives the honour of a triumph, 588.

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Antony (Marcus) contributed by his valour to the re-establishment of Auletes upon the throne of Egypt, vi. 330; when triumvir, he cites Cleopatra before him, and why, 344; his passion for that princess, 345; her ascendant over him, 346; she carries him with her to Alexandria, 347; Antony returns to Rome, and marries Octavia, Cæsar's sister, 349; he makes some expeditions into Parthia, ibid. then goes to Phœnicia to meet Cleopatra, 350; his injurious treatment of Octavia, 351; he makes himself master of Armenia, and returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph, 352; he celebrates there the coronation of Cleopatra and her children, ibid.; open rupture between Cæsar and Antony, 355; the latter repudiates Octavia, ibid.; Antony puts to sea, accompanied by Cleopatra, 357; he is entirely defeated in a

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sea-fight near Actium, 358; all his troops surrender themselves to Cæsar, 359; he returns to Alexandria, ibid.; he sends ambassadors to treat of peace with Cæsar, 360; seeing himself betrayed by Cleopatra, he sends to challenge Cæsar to a single combat, 362; believing Cleopatra had killed herself, he falls upon his sword, 363; he expires in Cleopatra's arms, 364; that princess celebrates his funeral with great magnificence, 365.

Antigona, Philotas's mistress, accuses him to Alexander, iv. 261.

Antigona, the daughter of Ptolemy, wife of Pyrrhus, v. 7.

Antigonia, city built by Antigonus, iv. 494, and destroyed by Seleucus, v. 4.

Antigonus, one of Alexander's captains, divides the empire of that prince with the rest of them, iv. 381; he makes war against Eumenes, and besieges him in Nora, 408; he marches into Pisidia against Alcetas and Attalus, 410; he becomes very powerful, 413; he revolts against the kings, and continues the war with Eumenes, who adheres to them, iv. 425; he is defeated by that captain, 437; he gets Eumenes into his hands by treachery, 442, and rids himself of him in prison, 444; a league is formed against him, 446; he takes Syria and Phœnicia from Ptolemy, ibid. and makes himself master of Tyre, after a long siege, 447; he marches against Cassander, and gains great advantages over him, 449; he concludes a treaty with the confederate princes, 456; he puts Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, to death, 458; he forms the design of reinstating the liberty of Greece, 460, 461; he besieges and takes Athens, 462, &c. excessive honours paid him there, 464; he assumes the title of king, 471; he makes preparations to invade Egypt, 472, 473; his enterprise is unsuccessful, ibid.; he loses a great battle at Ipsus, and is killed in it, 496.

Antigonus Gonatus offers himself as an hostage for Demetrius his father, v. 19; he establishes himself in Macedonia, 50; Pyrrhus drives him out of it, 76; he retires into his maritime cities, ibid.; he sends troops to the aid of the Spartans against Pyrrhus, 81; he marches to the assistance of Argos, besieged by that prince, 84; he takes the whole army and camp of Pyrrhus, and celebrates the funeral of that prince with great magnificence, 85; he besieges Athens, 88, 89, and takes it, ibid.; his death, 111.

Antigonus Doson, as Philip's guardian, reigns in Macedonia, v. 117; the Achæans call him in to their aid against Sparta, 158, 161; he occasions their gaining several advantages, 162, &c.; he is victorious in the famous battle of Selasia against Cleomenes, 169; he makes himself master of Sparta, and treats it with great clemency, 174; he marches against the Illyrians, and dies after having gained a victory over them, 175.

Antigonus, nephew of Antigonus Doson, Philip's favourite, discovers to that prince the innocence of his son Demetrius, and the guilt of Perseus, v. 461; Philip's intention in respect to him, 463; he is put to death by order of Perseus, 512.

Antigonus, a Macedonian lord in the court of Perseus, v. 558.

Antigonus, the brother of Aristobulus I. is appointed by his brother to terminate the war in Ituræa, vi. 135; at his return, his brother puts him to death, ibid.

Antigonus, son of Aristobulus II. is sent to Rome by Pompey, vi. 147; he is set upon the throne of Judæa, 148; he is besieged in Jerusalem, 150; he surrenders, and is put to death, 151.

Antimachus, officer in the army of Perseus, v. 540.

Antioch, city built by Seleucus upon the Orontes, v. 4.

Antiochus, lieutenant of Alcibiades, attacks the Lacedæmonians with ill conduct, and is defeated with great loss, iii. 98.

Antiochus I. surnamed *Soter*, reigns in Syria, and marries Stratonice his father's wife, v. 41; he endeavours to seize the kingdom of Pergamus, 92; he is defeated by Eumenes, ibid.; he puts one of his sons to death, and dies himself soon after, ibid.

Antiochus II. surnamed *Theos*, ascends the throne of Syria, v. 92; he delivers Miletus from tyranny, 93; he carries the war into Egypt against Ptolemy, 96; the provinces of the East revolt against him, ibid.; he loses most of those provinces, 97; he

makes peace with Ptolemy, and marries Berenice the daughter of that prince, after having repudiated Laodice, ibid.; he repudiates Berenice, and takes Laodice again, who causes him to be poisoned, 105; Daniel's prophecies concerning him, 98.

Antiochus Hierax commands in Asia Minor, v. 106; he enters into a league with his brother Seleucus against Ptolemy, 111; he declares war against Seleucus, gives him battle, and defeats him with great danger of his life, 112; he is attacked and defeated by Eumenes, ibid.; he retires to Ariarathes, who soon after seeks occasion to rid himself of him, 113; he takes refuge with Ptolemy, who imprisons him, 114; he escapes, and is assassinated by robbers, ibid.

Antiochus III. surnamed *the Great*, begins to reign in Syria, v. 180; fidelity of Achæus in respect to him, ibid.; he appoints Hermias his prime minister, 131; Molon and Alexander, whom he had appointed governors of Media and Persia, revolt against him, ibid.; he marries Laodice, the daughter of Mithridates, 182; he sacrifices Epigenes, the most able of his generals, to the jealousy of Hermias, 185; he marches against the rebels, and reduces them, ibid.; he rids himself of Hermias, 187; he marches into Cœlosyria, and takes Seleucia, 189, 190, Tyre and Ptolemais, 191; he makes a truce with Ptolemy, ibid.; the war breaks out again, 192, 193; Antiochus gains many advantages, ibid.; he loses a great battle at Raphia, 194; he makes peace with Ptolemy, 196; he turns his arms against Achæus, who had revolted, ibid.; Achæus is put into his hands by treachery, and executed, 197; expeditions of Antiochus into Media, 271; Parthia, 273; Hyrcania, ibid; Bactria, ibid.; and even into India, 274; he enters into an alliance with Philip to invade the kingdom of Egypt, 278, and seizes Cœlosyria and Palestine, ibid.; he makes war against Attalus, 296; upon the remonstrances of the Romans, he retires, ibid.; he recovers Cœlosyria, which Aristomenes had taken from him, 297; Antiochus forms the design of seizing Asia Minor, 298; he takes some places there, 325; an embassy is sent to him from the Romans upon that head, ibid.; Hannibal retires to him, 329; the arrival of that general determines him upon a war with the Romans, 340; he marches against the Pisidians, and subjects them, 343; he goes to Greece at the request of the Ætolians, 353; he attempts to bring over the Achæans in vain, 355, and afterwards the Bœotians, 358; he makes himself master of Chalcis, and all Eubœa, ibid.; the Romans declare war against him, ibid.; he makes an ill use of Hannibal's counsels, 360; he goes to Chalcis, and marries the daughter of the person in whose house he lodges, 361; he seizes the straits of Thermopylæ, ibid.; he is defeated near those mountains, and escapes to Chalcis, 362; on his return to Ephesus, he ventures a sea-fight, and loses it, 367; his fleet gains some advantages over the Rhodians, 369; he loses a second battle at sea, 370; conduct of Antiochus after this defeat, 372; he makes proposals of peace, 374, which are rejected, 375; he loses a great battle near Magnesia, 378, &c.; he demands peace, and obtains it, 381; on what conditions, ibid.; in order to pay the tribute to the Romans, he plunders a temple in Elymais, 495; he is killed, 406; character of Antiochus, ibid.; Daniel's prophecies concerning that prince, ibid.

Antiochus, eldest son of Antiochus the Great, dies in the flower of his youth, v. 318; character of that young prince, ibid.

Antiochus IV. surnamed Epiphanes, goes to Rome as an hostage, v. 382; he ascends the throne of Syria, 468; dispute between that prince and the king of Egypt, 470; he marches against Egypt, 473, and gains a first victory over Ptolemy, ibid.; then a second, 474; he makes himself master of Egypt, ibid.; and takes the king himself, ibid.; upon the rumour of a general revolt, he enters Palestine, 475; besieges and takes Jerusalem, ibid.; where he exercises the most horrid cruelties, ibid. 483, &c.; Antiochus renews the war in Egypt, 476; he replaces Ptolemy Philometer upon the throne, and with what view, 479;

he returns to Syria, ibid.; he comes back to Egypt, and marches to Alexandria, 480; Popilius, the Roman ambassador, obliges him to quit it, 482.

Antiochus, incensed at what happened in Egypt, vents his rage upon the Jews, v. 483; he orders Appollonius, one of his generals, to destroy Jerusalem, ibid.; cruelties committed there by that general, ibid. 484; Antiochus endeavours to abolish the worship of the true God at Jerusalem, ibid.; he enters Judæa, and commits horrible cruelties, 487; he celebrates games at Daphne, near Antioch, 491, 492; several of his generals defeated by Judas Maccabeus, 492, 496, 497; he goes to Persia, 498; attempts to plunder the temple of Elymais, and is shamefully repulsed, 499; upon receiving advice of the defeat of his armies in Judæa, he sets out instantly with design to exterminate the Jews, ibid.; he is struck by the hand of God in the way, and dies in the most exquisite torments, ibid.; Daniel's prophecies concerning this prince, 500.

Antiochus V. called *Eupator*, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria, vi. 55; he continues the war with the Jews, 56; his generals and himself in person are defeated by Judas Maccabeus, 57, 58; he makes peace with the Jews, and destroys the fortifications of the temple, 59, ibid.; Romans discontented with Eupator, 64; his soldiers deliver him up to Demetrius, who puts him to death, 65.

Antiochus VI. surnamed *Theos*, is set upon the throne of Syria by Tryphon, vi. 78; he is assassinated soon after, 79.

Antiochus VII. surnamed *Sidetes*, marries Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, and is proclaimed king of Syria, vi. 83; he dethrones Tryphon, who is put to death, 84; he marches into Judæa, 93; besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, ibid.; the city capitulates, ibid.; he turns his arms against Parthia, 94, where he perishes, 95; adventure of this prince in hunting, ibid.

Antiochus VIII. surnamed *Grypus*, begins to reign in Syria, vi. 102; he marries Tryphena, the daughter of Physcon king of Egypt, 103; he defeats and expels Zebina, ibid.; his mother Cleopatra endeavours to poison him, and is poisoned herself, ibid; Antiochus reigns some time in peace, 104; war between that prince and his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum, 105; the two brothers divide the empire of Syria between them, 106; Grypus marries Selena the daughter of Cleopatra, and renews the war against his brother, 114; he is assassinated by one of his vassals, ibid.

Antiochus IX. surnamed the *Cyzicenian*, makes war against his brother Antiochus Grypus, v. 105; he marries Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had repudiated, ibid.; after several battles, he comes to an accommodation with his brother, and divides the empire of Syria with him, 106; he goes to the aid of the Samaritans, and is unsuccessful in that war, 107; after his brother's death he endeavours to possess himself of his dominions, 115; he loses a battle against Seleucus the son of Grypus, who puts him to death, ibid.

Antiochus X. surnamed *Eusebes*, son of Antiochus the Cyzicenian, causes himself to be crowned king of Syria, and expels Seleucus, vi. 116; he gains a battle against Antiochus and Philip, brothers of Seleucus, ibid.; he marries Selena the widow of Grypus, ibid.; he is entirely defeated by Philip, and obliged to take refuge amongst the Parthians, ibid.; by their aid he returns into Syria, ibid.; he is again expelled, and retires into Cilicia, where he ends his days, 118.

Antiochus XI. son of Grypus, endeavours to revenge the death of his brother Seleucus, vi. 116; he is defeated by Eusebes, and drowned in endeavouring to pass the Orontes, ibid.

Antiochus XII. surnamed *Dionysius*, seizes Cœlosyria, and reigns some short time, vi. 116.

Antiochus XIII. called Asiaticus, sent by Selena his mother to Rome, vi. 120; on his return he goes to Sicily, and receives an enormous affront from Verres, ibid.; he reigns some time in

Syria, 124, 314; Pompey deprives him of his dominions, ibid.

Antipas, or *Antipater*, Herod's father, excites great troubles in Judæa, vi. 242, &c.; he sends troops to aid Cæsar, besieged in Alexandria, vi. 341.

Antipater, Alexander's lieutenant, is appointed by that prince to govern Macedonia in his absence, iv. 140; he defeats the Lacedæmonians, who had revolted against Macedonia, 251; Alexander takes his government from him, and orders him to come to him, 339; suspicions of Antipater in respect to Alexander's death, 350; Antipater's expeditions into Greece after Alexander's death, 386, 387; he is defeated by the Athenians near Lamia, to which he retires, ibid.; he surrenders that place by capitulation, 388; he seizes Athens, and puts a garrison into it, 391; he puts Demosthenes and Hyperides to death, 393, 394; he gives Phila his daughter to Craterus in marriage, 397; he is appointed regent of the kingdom of Macedonia in the room of Perdiccas, 408; death of Antipater, 412.

Antipater, eldest son of Cassander, v. 10; dispute between that prince and his brother Alexander for the crown of Macedonia, ibid.; he kills his mother Thessalonica, who favoured his younger brother, ibid.; Demetrius drives him out of Macedonia, 11; he retires into Thrace, and dies there, ibid.

Antiphon, courtier of Dionysius. Witty saying which cost him his life, iii. 377.

Antony.—See Anthony.

Amysis, king of Egypt, i. 68.

Aornos, a rock of India, besieged and taken by Alexander, iv. 300.

Apamia, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, and widow of Magas, v. 95.

Apaturiæ: Feasts celebrated at Athens, iii. 106.

Apaturius, officer of Seleucus Ceraunus, forms a conspiracy against that prince, and poisons him, v. 180; he is put to death, ibid.

Apega, infernal machine invented by Nabis, v. 269.

Apellas, courtier of Philip, v. 210, abuses his power, ibid.; he endeavours to humble and enslave the Achæans, 212; he perishes miserably, 226.

Apelles, Perseus's accomplice in accusing Demetrius, is sent ambassador to Rome by Philip, v. 459; after the death of Demetrius, he escapes into Italy, 462.

Apelles, officer of Antiochus Epiphanes, endeavours to make Mattathias sacrifice to idols, v. 486; Mattathias kills him with all his followers, ibid.

Apellicon, Athenian library erected by him at Athens, vi. 273.

Apis, ox adored under that name by the Egyptians, i. 32.

Apis, king of Argos, ii. 162.

Apollo, Temple erected in honour of him at Delphi, i. xl.

Apollocrates, eldest son of Dionysius the younger, commands in the citadel of Syracuse in the room of his father, iii. 406; he surrenders that place to Dion, and retires to his father, 414.

Apollodorus, of Amphipolis, one of Alexander's officers, iv. 232.

Apollodorus, friend of Cleopatra, favours the entrance of that princess into Alexandria, and in what manner, vi. 336.

Apollodorus, governor of Gaza for Lathyrus, defends that place against Alexander Jannæus, vi. 137; he is assassinated by his brother Lysimachus, ibid.

Apollonides, officer in the army of Eumenes, occasions the loss of a battle, iv. 409; he is seized and put to death, ibid.

Apollonides, magistrate of Syracuse, vi. 224; his wise discourse in the assembly of the people, ibid.

Apollonius, lord of the court of Antiochus Epiphanes, is sent ambassador by that prince, first to Egypt, v. 471, then to Rome, ibid.; Antiochus sends him with an army against Jerusalem, with orders to destroy that city, 483; his cruelties there, ibid. 484; he is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, and killed in the battle, 492.

Apollonius, governor of Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, marches against Jonathan, and is defeated, vi. 73, 74; he forms a plot against the life of Ptolemy Philometer, 74.

Apollophanes, physician to Antiochus the Great, discovers to that prince the conspiracy formed against him by

Hermias, v. 186; salutary advice which he gave Antiochus, 189.

Appius (Claudius), Roman consul, is sent into Sicily to aid the Mamertines, i. 100; vi. 200; he defeats the Carthaginians and Syracusans, i. 151. vi. 201.

Appius (Claudius) Roman senator, prevents the senate from accepting the offers of Pyrrhus, v. 61.

Appius (Claudius), Roman, commands a body of troops, and is beat near Uscana, against which he marched with design to plunder it, vi. 89.

Apries ascends the throne of Egypt, i. 78; success of that prince, ibid.; Zedekiah, king of Judah, implores his aid, 79; declares himself protector of Israel, ibid.; Egypt revolts against him, 80, and sets Amasis on the throne, ibid.; he is obliged to retire into Upper Egypt, 71; Amasis defeats him in a battle, in which he is taken prisoner, and put to death, 82.

Aquilius (Manius), Roman proconsul, is defeated in a battle by Mithridates, who takes him prisoner, and puts him to death, vi. 256.

Arabians (Nabuthæan): Character of that people, iv. 454.

Aracus, Lacedæmonian admiral, iii. 109.

Arœus, one of the Spartan exiles, is reinstated by the Achæans, and carries accusations against them to Rome, v. 420; the Achæans condemn him to die, 422; his sentence is annulled by the Romans, 425.

Arœus, grandson of Cleomenes, reigns at Sparta, v. 77.

Arœus, another king of Sparta, v. 135.

Araspes, lord of Media, is appointed by Cyrus to keep Panthæa prisoner, ii. 6; passion which he conceives for that princess, ibid; goodness of Cyrus in respect to him, ibid.; he does that prince great service in going as a spy amongst the Assyrians, 7. 18.

Aratus, son of Clinias, escapes from Sicyon, to avoid the fury of Abantidas, v. 119; he delivers that city from the tyranny, ibid. 120, and unites it with the Achæan league, ibid.; he appeases a sedition upon the point of breaking out at Sicyon, 123, &c.; he is elected general of the Achæans, 124; he takes Corinth from Antigonus, 126, &c.; he makes several cities enter into the Achæan league, 130, 131; he has not the same success at Argos, 132; he marches against the Ætolians, 144; Cleomenes, king of Sparta, gains several advantages over him, 153; Aratus's envy of that prince, 157; he calls in Antigonus to aid the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians, 159; he marches against the Ætolians, and is defeated near Capyæ, 201; Philip's affection for Aratus, 202; Apelles, Philip's minister, accuses him falsely to that prince, 213; he is declared innocent, 214; he accompanies Philip into Ætolia; his expedition against the Ætolians, Lacedæmonians, and Elæans, 215; Philip causes him to be poisoned, 215; his funeral solemnized magnificently, ibid.; praise and character of Aratus, 121, 220, 234.

Aratus the younger, son of the great Aratus, is chief magistrate of the Achæans, v. 209; Philip causes him to be poisoned, 236.

Arbaces, governor of the Medes for Sardanapalus, revolts against that prince, and founds the kingdom of the Medes, i. 314, 316, 331.

Arbaces, general in the army of Artaxerxes Mnemon against his brother Cyrus, iii. 143.

Arbela, city of Assyria, famous for Alexander's victory over Darius, iv. 222, 229.

Arcesilas, Alexander's lieutenant: Provinces that fell to his lot after that prince's death, iv. 381.

Archagathus, son of Agathocles, commands in Africa after his father's departure, i. 145; he perishes there miserably, 146.

Archelaus, governor of Susa for Alexander, iv. 235.

Archelaus, general for Antigonus, marches against Aratus, who besieged Corinth, and is taken prisoner, v. 128; Aratus sets him at liberty, 129.

Archelaus, one of the generals of Mithridates, takes Athens, vi. 258; he is driven out of it by Sylla, 263; he is defeated by the same captain, first at Cheronæa, 266, and then at Orchomenos, 267; he escapes to Chalcis, ibid.; and has an interview with Sylla near Delium, 269; Archelaus

goes over to Muræna, 275; he engages the latter to make war against Mithridates, ibid.

Archelaus, son of the former, is made high-priest and sovereign of Comana, vi. 192, 317; he marries Berenice, queen of Egypt, 192, 329; he is killed in a battle with the Romans, 330.

Archelaus, son of the latter, enjoys the same dignities as his father, vi. 192; he marries Glaphyra, and has two sons by her, ibid.

Archelaus, second son of Archelaus and Glaphyra, ascends the throne of Cappadocia, vi. 193; Tiberius does him great services with Augustus, ibid.; he draws the revenge of Tiberius upon himself, 194, 195; he is cited to Rome, and why, ibid.; he is very ill received there, and dies soon after, ibid.

Archias, Corinthian, founder of Syracuse, ii. 456; iii. 26.

Archias, Theban, is killed by the conspirators at a feast given by Philidas, one of them, to the Bœotarchs, iii. 448.

Archias, comedian, delivers up the orator Hyperides, and several other persons, to Antigonus, iv. 393.

Archibius, his attachment to Cleopatra, vi. 368.

Archidamia, Lacedæmonian lady: Heroic action of hers, v. 79; she is put to death by order of Amphares, 150.

Archidamus, king of Sparta, ii. 411; he saves the Lacedæmonians from the fury of the helots, 412; he commands the troops of Sparta at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, 364; he besieges Platæa, 481.

Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, gains a battle against the Arcadians, iii. 469; his valour during the siege of Sparta by Epaminondas, 484; he reigns in Sparta, 503.

Archidamus, brother of Agis, escapes from Sparta to avoid the fury of Leonidas, v. 150; Cleomenes recalls him, 153; he is assassinated in returning home, ibid.

Archidamus, ambassador of the Ætolians, endeavours to engage the Achæans to declare for Antiochus, v. 355.

Archilochus, Greek poet, inventor of Iambic verses, ii. 217; character of his poetry, 218.

Archimedes, famous geometrician, vi. 210; he invents many machines of war, ibid.; prodigious effects of these machines, 230, 231; he is killed at the taking of Syracuse, 239; his tomb discovered by Cicero, 240.

Archimedes, Athenian poet, vi. 213.

Archon, one of Alexander's officers: Provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, iv. 381.

Archon is elected chief magistrate of the Achæans, v. 542; wise resolutions which he makes that people take, 543.

Archons instituted at Athens, ii. 164. 194; iii. 307; their function, ibid.

Ardys, king of Lydia, i. 344.

Areopagus: Its establishment, ii. 163. iii. 304; authority of that senate, ii. 200, iii. 305, &c.; Pericles weakens its authority. 306.

Arctas, king of Arabia Petræa, submits to Pompey, vi. 320.

Arete, daughter of Dionysius the tyrant, first married to her brother Theorides, and afterwards to her uncle Dion, iii. 380; she marries Timocrates in the banishment of the latter, 498; Dion takes her again, 414; her death, 417.

Arethusa, fountain famous in fabulous history, iii. 42.

Argæus is placed by the Athenians upon the throne of Macedonia, iv. 44; is defeated by Philip, 46.

The *Argilian*, a name given the slave who discovered Pausanias' conspiracy, ii. 368.

Arginusæ, isles famous for the victory of the Athenians over the Lacedæmonians, iii. 102.

Argo, king of Lydia, i. 342.

Argos, foundation of that kingdom, ii. 102; kings of Argos, ibid.; war between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, i. cxii; they refuse to aid the Greeks against the Persians, ii. 315; Argos besieged by Pyrrhus, v. 83; Aratus endeavours to bring that city into the Achæan league, 132; but without success, 133; Argos is subjected by the Lacedæmonians, 162; and afterwards by Antigonus, ibid.; Argos surrenders to Philocles, one of

Philip's generals, 306; the latter puts it again into the hands of Nabis, 308; it throws off the yoke of that tyrant, and reinstates its liberty, 335.

Argus, king of Argos, ii. 162.

Ariæus, of Alexandria, philosopher; Augustus Cæsar's esteem for him, vi. 365.

Ariæus commands the left wing of Cyrus's army at the battle of Cunaxa, iii. 144; he flies upon advice of that prince's death, 147; the Greeks offer him the crown of Persia, 152; he refuses it, 153, and makes a treaty with them, ibid.

Ariamenes, Arabian, deceives and betrays Crassus, vi. 462.

Ariamnes, king of Cappadocia, vi. 185.

Ariarathes I. king of Cappadocia, vi. 185.

Ariarathes II. son of the first, reigns over Cappadocia, vi. 185; he is defeated in a battle by Perdiccas, who seizes his dominions, and puts him to death, iv. 401; vi. 185.

Ariarathes III. escapes into Armenia after his father s death, vi. 185; he ascends the throne of his ancestors, ibid.

Ariarathes IV. king of Cappadocia, vi. 186.

Ariarathes V. king of Cappadocia, marries Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, v. 342, vi. 186; the Romans lay a great fine upon him for having aided his father-in-law, v. 405; he sends his son to Rome, and with what view, 519; he declares for the Romans against Perseus, 521; death of Ariarathes, vi. 18.

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Ariarathes VII. reigns in Cappadocia, vi. 186; his brother-in-law, Mithridates, causes him to be assassinated, 189.

Ariarathes VIII. is placed upon the throne of Cappadocia by Mithridates, vi. 189; he is assassinated by that prince, 252.

Ariarathes IX. king of Cappadocia, is defeated by Mithridates, and driven out of his kingdom, vi. 189, 252.

Ariarathes X. ascends the throne of Cappadocia, vi. 192; Sisinna disputes possession of it with him, and carries it against him, ibid; Ariarathes reigns a second time in Cappadocia, ibid.

Ariarathes, son of Mithridates, reigns in Cappadocia, vi. 189, 252; he is dethroned by the Romans, 252; he is reinstated a second, and then a third time, 189, 253, 254.

Ariaspes, son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, deceived by his brother Ochus, kills himself, iii. 505.

Aridæus, bastard brother of Alexander, is declared king of Macedonia after the death of that prince, iv. 353, 379. Olympias causes him to be put to death, 430.

Arimanius, divinity adored in Persia, ii. 134.

Arimasus (Sogdian) governor of Petra Oxiana, refuses to surrender to Alexander, iv. 278; he is besieged in that place, ibid; he submits to Alexander, who puts him to death, 380.

Ariobarzanes, satrap of Phrygia under Artaxerxes Mnemon, ascends the throne of Pontus, i. cxxx. he revolts against that prince, iii. 503.

Ariobarzanes I. is placed upon the throne of Cappadocia by the Romans, vi. 190; he is twice dethroned by Tigranes, ibid.; Pompey reinstates him in the quiet possession of the throne, ibid.

Ariobarzanes II. ascends the throne of Cappadocia, and is killed soon after, vi. 190.

Ariobarzanes III. reigns in Cappadocia, vi. 190; Cicero suppresses a conspiracy forming against him, 191; he sides with Pompey against Cæsar, ibid; the latter lays him under contribution, 192; he refuses to ally with Cæsar's murderers, ibid.; Cassius attacks him, and having taken him prisoner, puts him to death.

Ariobarzanes, governor of Persia for Darius, posts himself at the pass of Susa, to prevent Alexander from pass-

ing it, iv. 238; he is put to flight, 239.
Aristagoras is established governor of Miletus by Hystiæus, ii. 263; he joins the Ionians in their revolt against Darius, 265; he goes to Lacedæmon for aid, 267; but ineffectually, 268; he goes to Athens, 269; that city grants him some troops, 270; he is defeated and killed in a battle, 272.
Aristander, a soothsayer in the train of Alexander, iv. 226.
Aristazanes, officer in the court of Ochus, iv. 20.
Aristeus, citizen of Argos, gives Pyrrhus entrance into that city, v. 83.
Aristænus, chief magistrate of the Achæans, engages them to declare for the Romans against Philip, v. 301.
Aristides, one of the generals of the Athenian army at Marathon, resigns the command to Miltiades, ii. 284; he distinguishes himself in the battle, 285; he is banished, 291; he is recalled, 318; he goes to Themistocles at Salamin, and persuades him to fight in that strait; 333; he rejects the offers of Mardonius, 342, and gains a famous victory over that general at Platæa, 346; he terminates a difference that had arisen between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, 349; confidence of the Athenians in Aristides, 365; his condescension for that people, ibid.; he is placed at the head of the troops sent by Athens to deliver the Greeks from the Persian yoke, ibid.; his conduct in that war, 366; he is charged with the administration of the public revenues, 373; his death, 377; his character, ibid.; his justice, 291, 340, 363; his disinterestedness, 287, 373; his love of poverty, 374.
Aristides, painter, great esteem for his works, vi. 38.
Aristion usurps the government at Athens, and acts with great cruelty, vi. 258; he is besieged in that city by Sylla, 259; he is taken, and put to death, 262.
Aristippus, philosopher, his desire to hear Socrates, iii. 241.
Aristippus, citizen of Argos, excites a sedition in that city, v. 82; he becomes tyrant of it 133; he is killed in a battle, 134; continual terrors in which that tyrant lived, 133, &c.
Aristobulus I. son of John Hyrcanus, succeeds his father in the high-priesthood, and sovereignty of Judæa, vi. 134; he assumes the title of king, ibid.; he causes his mother to be put to death, ibid.; then his brother Antigonus, ibid; he dies soon after himself, 135.
Aristobulus II. son of Alexander Jannæus, reigns in Judæa, vi. 142; dispute between that prince and Hyrcanus, 143; Pompey takes cognizance of it, 144; Aristobulus's conduct makes him his enemy, ibid.; Pompey lays him in chains, 145; and sends him to Rome, 147.
Aristocracy, form of government, ii. 166, 226.
Aristocrates commands the left wing of the Athenians at the battle of Arginusæ, iii. 103.
Aristodemus, chief of the Heraclidæ, possesses himself of Peloponnesus, ii. 165.
Aristodemus, guardian of Agesipolis, king of Sparta, iii. 201.
Aristodemus of Miletus is left at Athens by Demetrius, iv. 462.
Aristogenes, one of the generals of the Athenians at the battle of Arginusæ, iii. 103.
Aristogiton conspires against the tyrants of Athens, ii. 209; his death; 210; statues erected in honour of him by the Athenians, 212.
Aristomache, sister of Dion, is married to Dionysius the tyrant, iii. 359.
Aristomachus, tyrant of Argos, v. 132; his death, ibid.
Aristomenes, Messenian, offers his daughter to be sacrificed for appeasing the wrath of the gods, i. cxiv; he carries the prize of valour at the battle of Ithonia, cxv; he is elected king of the Messenians, cxvii; he beats the Lacedæmonians, and sacrifices three hundred of them in honour of Jupiter of Ithoma, cxviii; he sacrifices himself soon after upon his daughter's tomb, ibid.
Aristomenes, second of that name, king of Messene, gains a victory over the Lacedæmonians, i. cxix; bold action of that prince, ibid.; he is beat by the Lacedæmonians, cxxi; his death, ibid.

Aristomenes, Acarnanian, is charged with the education of Ptolemy Epiphanes, v. 285; he quashes a conspiracy formed against that prince, 327; Ptolemy puts him to death, 328.

Ariston, of Syracuse, comedian, discovers the conspiracy formed by Andranadorus against his country, vi. 221.

Ariston, pilot: Counsel which he gives the Syracusans, iii. 68, 69.

Aristona, daughter of Cyrus, wife of Darius, ii. 234.

Aristonicus possesses himself of the dominions of Attalus, vi. 90: he defeats the consul Crassus Mucianus, and takes him prisoner, 91; he is beaten and taken by Perpenna, ibid.; the consul sends him to Rome, ibid.; he is put to death there, 92.

Aristonicus of Marathon is put to death by order of Antigonus.

Aristophanes, famous poet, i. xcii. character of his poetry, xc. &c.; faults with which he may justly be reproached, ibid.; extracts from some of his pieces, 90, iii. 250, 310.

Aristophon, Athenian captain, accuses Ipicrates of treason, iv. 7.

Aristotle, Philip charges him with the education of Alexander, iv. 50, 125; his application in forming that prince, ibid.; suspicions of him in respect to the death of Alexander, 351; fate of his works, vi. 273.

Armenes, son of Nabis, goes an hostage to Rome, v. 339.

Armenia, province of Asia, i. xxii; it was governed by kings, cxxxi. 365. vi. 253.

Arms, those used by the ancients, ii. 111.

Arphaxad, name given by the scriptures to Phraortes.—See Phraortes.

Arrichion, Pancratiast: Combat of that Athleta, i. lviii.

Arsaces, son of Darius.—See Artaxerxes Mnemon.

Arsaces I. governor of Parthia for Antiochus, revolts against that prince, v. 96; he assumes the title of king, 115, vi. 153.

Arsaces II. king of Parthia, takes Media from Antiochus, v. 271; he sustains a war against that prince, 27. vi. 153; he comes to an accommodation with Antiochus, who leaves him in peaceable possession of his kingdom, v. 272; vi. 154.

Arsames, natural son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, is assassinated by his brother Ochus, iii. 505.

Arses reigns in Persia after the death of Ochus, iv. 24; Bagoas causes him to be assassinated, ibid.

Arsinoe, daughter of Ptolemy Lagus, is married to Lysimachus, king of Thrace, v. 5; after the death of that prince her brother Ceraunus marries her, 43; fatal sequel of that marriage, 44; she is banished into Samothracia, ibid.

Arsinoe, another daughter of Ptolemy Lagus, marries her brother Ptolemy Philadelphus, v. 90; death of that princess, 101.

Arsinoe, sister and wife of Ptolemy Philometer, v. 194; her death, 199.

Arsinoe, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes; Cæsar's sentence in her favour, vi. 337; she is proclaimed queen of Egypt, 338; Cæsar carries her to Rome, and makes her serve as an ornament in his triumph, 342; Antony, at the request of Cleopatra, causes her to be put to death, 346.

Arsinoe, wife of Magas.—See Apamia.

Arsites, satrap of Phrygia, occasions the defeat of the Persians at the Granicus, iv. 143; he kills himself through despair, 146.

Art.—See Arts.

Artabanus, uncle of Phraates, causes himself to be crowned king of Parthia, and is killed soon after, vi. 97. 154.

Artabanus, brother of Darius, endeavours to divert that prince from his enterprise against the Scythians, ii. 255; he is made arbiter between the two sons of Darius in respect to the sovereignty, 294; his wise discourse to Xerxes upon that prince's design to attack Greece, 298, &c.

Artabanus, Hyrcanian, captain of the guards to Xerxes, conspires against that prince, and kills him, ii. 379; he is killed himself by Artaxerxes, 380.

Artabarzanes, after the death of Darius, disputes the throne of Persia with Xerxes, ii. 294; he continues in amity with his brother, and loses his life in his service at the battle of Salamin,

ibid.; he was the first who reigned in Pontus, vi. 251.

Artabarzanes, king of Atropatene, submits to Antiochus, v. 186.

Artabazus, Persian lord, officer in the army of Mardonius, ii. 346; his counsel to that general, ibid.; he escapes into Asia after the battle of Platæa, 348; Xerxes gives him the command of the coasts of Asia Minor; and with what view, 366; he reduces the Egyptians, who had revolted against Artaxerxes, 398.

Artabazus, governor of one of the provinces of Asia for Ochus, revolts against that prince, iv. 2; supported by Chares the Athenian, he gains several advantages, ibid.; he is overpowered, and retires into Macedonia, 3; Ochus receives him again into favour, 22; his fidelity to Darius, 245; Alexander makes him governor of Petra Oxiana, 280.

Artigerses, officer of Artaxerxes Mnemon, is killed in the battle of Cunaxa, iii. 146.

Artainta, niece of Xerxes, ii. 357; violent passion of that prince for her, ibid.; fatal sequel of that passion, 358.

Artaphernes, governor of Sardis for his brother Darius, is for compelling the Athenians to reinstate Hippias, ii. 214; he marches against the island of Naxos, with design to surprise it, 266; he is besieged in Sardis by the Athenians, 270; he discovers the conspiracy of Hystiæus, 272; he marches against the revolted Ionians, ibid.

Artaphernes, ambassador of Artaxerxes to the Lacedæmonians, ii. 500.

Artarius, brother of Artaxerxes Longimanus, ii. 400.

Artavasdes, king of Armenia, vi. 156.

Artaxerxes I. surnamed *Longimanus*, by the instigation of Artabanus, kills his brother Darius, and ascends the throne of Persia, ii. 380; he rids himself of Artabanus, ibid.; he destroys the party of Artabanus, iii. 383; and that of Hystaspes his elder brother, ibid.; he gives Themistocles refuge, 385; his joy for the arrival of that Athenian, 386; he permits Esdras to return to Jerusalem first, 401; and then Nehemiah, 403; alarmed by the conquests of the Athenians, he forms the design of sending Themistocles into Attica at the head of an army, 396; Egypt revolts against him, 397; he reduces it to return to its obedience, 398; he gives up Inarus to his mother, contrary to the faith of the treaty, 400; he concludes a treaty with the Greeks, 415; he dies, iii. 1.

Artaxerxes II. surnamed *Mnemon*, is crowned king of Persia, iii. 120; Cyrus his brother attempts to murder him, 121; he sends him to his government of Asia Minor, 122; he marches against Cyrus, advancing to dethrone him, 143; gives him battle at the Cunaxa, ibid; and kills him with his own hand, 146; he cannot force the Greeks in his brother's army to surrender themselves to him, 152; he puts Tissaphernes to death, 193; he concludes a treaty with the Greeks, 210; he attacks Evagoras king of Cyprus, 212, &c.; he judges the affair of Tiribasus, 222; his expedition against the Cadusians, iv. 222, &c.

Artaxerxes sends an ambassador into Greece to reconcile the states, iii. 469; he receives a deputation from the Greeks, 470; honours which he pays to Pelopidas, ibid.; he undertakes to reduce Egypt, 496; that enterprise miscarries, 498; he meditates a second attempt against Egypt, 500; most of the provinces of his empire revolt against him, 503; troubles at the court of Artaxerxes, concerning his successor, 504; death of that prince, 505.

Artaxerxes III. before called *Ochus*. See Ochus.

Artaxias, king of Armenia, v. 333; vi. 253.

Artemidorus invested with the supreme authority at Syracuse, vi. 198.

Artemisa, queen of Halicarnassus, supplies Xerxes with troops in his expedition against Greece, ii. 313; her courage in the battle of Salamin, 335.

Artemisa, wife of Mausolus, reigns in Caria after the death of her husband, iv. 12; honours she renders to the memory of Mausolus, 13; she takes Rhodes, 14; her death, 15.

Artemisa, promontory of Eubœa, famous for the victory of the Greeks over the Persians, ii. 326.

Artemon, Cyrian, part which Queen Laodice makes him play, v. 105, &c.

Artemon, engineer, ii. 429.

Artoxares, eunuch of Darius Nothus, forms a conspiracy against that prince, iii. 5; he is put to death, ibid.

Arts, origin and progress of the arts, ii. 122; arts banished out of Sparta by Lycurgus, 192; and placed in honour at Athens by Solon, 303.

Artyphius, son of Magibysus, revolts against Ochus, iii. 3; he is suffocated in ashes, ibid.

Aruspices.—See Augurs.

Arymbas king of Epirus, iv. 80; i. cxxxii.

Asa, king of Judah, defeats the army of Zara king of Ethiopia, i. 68.

Asdrubal, Hamilcar's son-in-law, commands the Carthaginian army in Spain, i. 181; he builds Carthagena, ibid.; he is killed treacherously by a Gaul, 182.

Asdrubal, surnamed *Calvus*, is made prisoner in Sardinia by the Romans, i. 219.

Asdrubal, Hannibal's brother, commands the troops in Spain after his brother's departure, i. 192; he receives orders from Carthage to march to Italy to the aid of his brother, 223; he sets forward, and is defeated, 225; he loses a great battle near the river Metaurus, and is killed in it, ibid.

Asdrubal, Gisco's brother, commands the Carthaginian troops in Spain, i. 226.

Asdrubal, surnamed *Hœdus*, is sent by the Carthaginians to Rome to demand peace, i. 233.

Asdrubal, Massinissa's grandson, commands in Carthage during the siege of that city by Scipio, i. 264; another Asdrubal causes him to be put to death, 269.

Asdrubal, Carthaginian general, is condemned to die, and wherefore, i. 267; the Carthaginians appoint him general of the troops without their walls, 264; he causes another Asdrubal, who commands within the city, to be put to death, 269; his cruelty to the Roman prisoners, ibid.; after the taking of the city, he entrenches himself in the temple of Æsculapius, 272; he surrenders himself to Scipio, ibid.; tragical end of his wife and children, ibid.

Ashes: Smothering in ashes, a punishment among the Persians, iii. 2.

Asia, geographical description of it, i. xxi. &c.; it is considered as the cradle of the sciences, ii. 123.

Asmonean race: Duration of their reign in Judæa, vi. 151.

Aspasia, celebrated courtezan, ii. 428; she marries Pericles, 436; accusation formed against her at Athens, ibid.; her great knowledge occasions her being ranked among the sophists, ibid.

Aspick, serpent whose bite is mortal, v. 36; vi. 361.

Aspis, governor for Artaxerxes in the neighbourhood of Cappadocia, revolts against that prince, iii. 226; he is punished soon after, ibid.

Assur, son of Shem, who gave his name to Assyria, i. 298.

Assyria, origin of its name, i. 298.

Assyrians. First empire of the Assyrians, i. 295; duration of that empire, ibid.; kings of the Assyrians, 295, &c.; second empire of the Assyrians, both of Nineveh and Babylon, 316; subversion of that empire by Cyrus, ii. 30.

Aster, of Amphipolis, shoots out Philip's right eye, iv. 58; that prince puts him to death, 59.

Astrology, judicial, falsehood of that science, ii. 130, &c.

Astronomy, nations that applied themselves first to it, i. 42; ii. 130.

Astyages, king of the Medes, called in scripture Ahasuerus, i. 341; he gives his daughter in marriage to Cambyses king of Persia, 342; he causes Cyrus his grandson to come to his court, 357.

Astymedes, deputed to Rome by the Rhodians, endeavours to appease the anger of the senate, vi. 5.

Asychis, king of Egypt, author of the law concerning loans, i. 203; famous pyramid built by his order, ibid.

Atheas, king of Scythia, is defeated by Philip, against whom he had declared, iv. 92.

Athenæus, general of Antigonus, is sent by that prince against the Nabathæan Arabians, iv. 454; he perishes in that expedition, 455.

Athenæa, or *Panathenæa*, feasts celebrated at Athens, i. xxvii.

Athenæus, brother of Eumenes, is sent ambassador by that prince to Rome, v. 438.

Athenæus, governor for Antiochus in Judæa and Samaria, to establish that prince's religion in them, v. 485.

Athenais, daughter of Leontius.—See Eudocia.

Athenian, courtier of Ptolemy Evergetes, goes to Jerusalem by order of that prince, v. 115.

Athens. Athenians. Foundation of the kingdom of Athens, i. 63; ii. 163; kings of Athens, ibid.; the Archons succeed them, 164, 194; Draco is chosen legislator, 195; then Solon, 197; Pisistratus tyrant of that city, 206, &c.; the Athenians recover their liberty, 211; Hippias attempts in vain to re-establish the tyranny, 214; the Athenians, in conjunction with the Ionians, burn the city of Sardis, ii. 270; Darius prepares to avenge that insult, ibid.; famous Athenian captains at that time, 273; Darius' heralds are put to death there, 281; the Athenians, under Miltiades, gain a famous victory over the Persians at Marathon, 282; moderate reward granted Miltiades, 289.

The Athenians, attacked by Xerxes, choose Themistocles general, ii. 317; they resign the honour of commanding the fleet to the Lacedæmonian, 319; they contribute very much to the victory gained at Artemisium, 327; they are reduced to abandon their city, 329; Athens is burned by the Persians, 331; battle of Salamin, in which the Athenians acquire infinite glory, ibid.; they abandon their city a second time, 343; the Athenians and Lacedæmonians cut the Persian army to pieces near Platæa, 348; they defeat the Persian fleet at the same time near Mycale, 354; they rebuild the walls of their city, 359; the command of the Greeks in general transferred to the Athenians, 365.

The Athenians, under Cimon, gain a double victory over the Persians near the river Eurymedon, ii. 392; they support the Egyptians in their revolt against Persia, 397; their considerable losses in that war, 398, 399; seeds of division between Athens and Sparta, 413; peace re-established between the two states, 414; the Athenians gain several victories over the Persians, which obliges Artaxerxes to conclude a peace highly glorious for the Greeks, 415; jealousy and differences between Athens and Sparta, 425; treaty of peace for thirty years between the two states, 428; the Athenians besiege Samos, ibid.; they send aid to the Corcyrians, 429; they besiege Potidæa, 432; open rupture between Athens and Sparta, 435; beginning of the Peloponnesian war, 462; reciprocal ravages of Attica and Peloponnesus, 466.

Plague of Athens, ii. 471. The Athenians seize Potidæa, 477; they send forces against the isle of Lesbos, 483; and make themselves masters of Mitylene, 488; the plague breaks out again at Athens, 494; the Athenians take Pylus, 495; and are besieged in it, ibid.; they take the troops shut up in the isle of Sphacteria, 498; they make themselves masters of the island of Cythera, iii. 7; they are defeated by the Thebans near Delium, 9; truce for a year between Athens and Sparta, 10; the Athenians are defeated near Amphipolis, 12; treaty of peace for fifty years between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, 14.

The Athenians, at the instigation of Alcibiades, renew the war against Sparta, iii. 20; they engage by his advice in the war with Sicily, 22; Athens appoints Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, generals, 27; triumphant departure of the fleet, 35; it arrives in Sicily, ibid.; the Athenians recall Alcibiades, and condemn him to die, 38; after some actions, they besiege Syracuse, 44; they undertake several works, that reduce the city to extremities, 48; they are defeated by sea and land, 54, 59, 64; they hazard a second battle by sea, and are defeated, 67; they resolve to retire by land, 70; they are reduced to surrender themselves to the Syracusans, 74; their generals are put to death, 76; consternation of Athens upon this defeat, 77.

The Athenians are abandoned by their allies, iii. 78; the return of Alcibiades to Athens is concerted, 82; the four hundred invested with all authority at Athens, 86; their power is annulled, 88; Alcibiades is recalled, ibid.; he occasions the

gaining of several great advantages by the Athenians, 89; the Athenians elect him generalissimo, 93; their fleet is defeated near Ephesus, 98; the command is taken from Alcibiades, 99; they gain a victory over the Lacedæmonians near the Arginusæ, 102; they are entirely defeated by the latter near Ægospotamos, 114; Athens, besieged by Lysander, capitulates, and surrenders, 115, &c.

Thirty tyrants instituted to govern Athens, by Lysander, iii. 117; she recovers her liberty, 130, 131; she enters into the league formed against the Lacedæmonians, 198; Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens, 208; the Athenians aid the Theban exiles, 444; they repent it presently after, 441; they renew the alliance with the Thebans, 453; they declare against the latter for the Lacedæmonians, 469; many of the Athenian allies revolt, iv. 3; generals employed to reduce them, ibid. &c.; alarm of the Athenians, occasioned by the preparations for war made by the king of Persia, 7; they send aid to the Megalopolitans, 12; and afterwards to the Rhodians, 15.

The Athenians suffer themselves to be amused by Philip, iv. 47; Demosthenes endeavours in vain to rouse them from their lethargy, 62, 64, 74; Athens joins the Lacedæmonians against Philip, 81; the Athenians under Phocion drive Philip out of Eubœa, 83, &c.; they oblige that prince to raise the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, 91, and form a league with the Thebans against Philip, 98; immoderate joy of Athens upon that prince's death, 111; the Athenians form a league against Alexander, 132; that prince pardons them, 135; conduct of the Athenians in respect to Harpalus, 335.

Rumours and joy at Athens upon the news of Alexander's death, iv. 384; the Athenians march against Antipater, 386; they are victorious at first, 387, and are afterwards reduced to submit, 391; Antipater makes himself master of their city, ibid.; Phocion is condemned to die by the Athenians, 416; Cassander takes Athens, 421; he makes choice of Demetrius Phalereus to govern the republic, 422; Athens taken by Demetrius Poliorcetes, 461; excessive honours rendered to Antigonus and his son Demetrius by the Athenians, 464; Athens besieged by Cassander, and delivered by Demetrius, 492; excessive flattery of Demetrius, by the Athenians, 493; Athens shuts its gates against Demetrius, v. 4; he takes that city, 9; Athens declares against Antigonus Gonatus, 88; and is taken by that prince, who puts a garrison into it, 89.

The Athenians carry their complaints against Philip to Rome, v. 285; that prince besieges their city, 288; decrees of Athens against Philip, 294; she sends three famous philosophers upon an embassy to Rome, and wherefore, vi. 21; Athens taken by Archelaus, 258; Aristion makes himself tyrant of that city, ibid.; his cruelties there, ibid.; it is besieged and retaken by Sylla, 259, &c.; Government of Athens, iii. 296; foundation of the government instituted by Solon, ii. 197; abuses introduced into the government by Pericles, iv. 410; inhabitants of Athens, iii. 299; senate, 303; Areopagus, 304; magistrates, 306; assemblies of the people, 307; other tribunals, 309; revenues of Athens, 313; education of youth, 315; different species of troops, of which the armies of Athens were composed, iii. 325; choice of the generals, iv. 115; raising of troops, their pay, iii. 332; navy, 329; ships, ibid.; naval troops, 332; equipment of gallies at Athens, ibid.; exemptions and honours granted by that city to those who had rendered it great services, 324; orations pronounced by order of the state in honour of those who had died for their country, ii. 429, 470; iv. 105, 106; of religion, i. 24; feasts of the Panathenæa, 27; Bacchus, 29; and Eleusis, 31.

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Mathaniah is placed upon the throne of Judah in the room of his nephew Jechoniah, i. 325.

Mattathias, Jew, refuses to obey Antiochus, v. 486; retires with his family to avoid the persecution, 487; his death, 491.

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Megaleas, Philip's general, devotes himself to Apelles, that prince's minister, v. 214, 222; he insults Aratus, in concert with Leontius, at the breaking up of a feast, 220; Philip imprisons him, and then sets him at liberty, 221; his bad designs against Philip are discovered, 224; he kills himself to avoid a trial, and the execution of sentence against him, 225.

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Megistones, Lacedæmonian captain, is sent to the aid of Argos, where he is killed, v. 162.

Melitus, Athenian orator, accuses Socrates, iii. 252; success of that accusation, 260; he is condemned to die, 261.

Melon, Theban, is appointed Bœotarch with Pelopidas and Charon, iii. 450.

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Micipsa succeeds his father Masinissa in the kingdom of Numidia, i. 285; adopts Jugurtha his nephew, and makes him co-heir with the rest of his children, 286; his death, 287.
Micythus, guardian of the children of Anaxilaus; prudence of his administration, ii. 450.
Midias, son-in-law of Mania, assassinates his mother-in-law and her son, in order to possess himself of her riches and government, iii. 178; he is deprived of them by Dercyllidas, ibid.
Miletus, city of Ionia, ii. 272; cruelties acted there by Lysander, iii. 134, 135, besieged and taken by Alexander, iv. 147, 148.
Milo, champion of Crotona, defeats the Sybarites, ii. 457; the extraordinary strength of that combatant, 451; voracity, ibid.; and death, 462.
Millhocitus, Thracian, after the battle

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of Cunaxa, surrenders himself to Artaxerxes, iii. 153.

Miltiades, Athenian tyrant of the Thracian Chersonesus, accompanies Darius in his expedition against the Scythians, and is of opinion that satisfaction ought to be made them, ii. 261; an irruption of the Scythians into Thrace obliges him to abandon the Chersonesus, whither he returns soon after, 264; he settles at Athens, 276; he commands the army of the Athenians, and gains a famous victory at Marathon over the Persians, 285, 286; moderate reward given him by the Athenians, 289; he sets out with a fleet to reduce the revolted islands, and has ill success in the isle of Pharos, 290; he is cited to take his trial, and has a great fine laid upon him, ibid.; not being able to pay it, he is put in prison, and dies there, ibid.

Mina, Greek money; its value, ii. 490.

Mindarus, Spartan admiral, is defeated and killed in a battle by Alcibiades, iii. 90.

Minerva, goddess, i. xxvii; feast at Athens in honour of her, ibid.

Mines: product of mines was the principal riches of the ancients, i. 101.

Minister: wise lessons for one, ii. 207, 208, iii. 142, 360.

Minos, first king of Crete, iii. 288; laws instituted by him in his kingdom, 289, &c.; hatred of the Athenians for Minos, 294; cause of that hatred, 295.

Minucius (M.) is appointed master of horse to Fabius, i. 205; he gains a slight advantage over the Carthaginians in that dictator's absence, 209; which procures him equal authority with the dictator, ibid.; engages with disadvantages, out of which Fabius extricates him, ibid.; he acknowledges his fault, and returns to his obedience, 210; he is killed at the battle of Cannæ, 213.

Mishael, one of the three young Hebrews preserved miraculously in the furnace, i. 326.

Mithras, name given the sun by the Persians, iii. 125.

Mithridates I. king of Pontus, i. exxx; that prince submits to Alexander, and accompanies him in his expeditions, iv. 150.

Mithridates II. king of Pontus, flies to avoid the rage of Antigonus, i. 130.

Mithridates III. king of Pontus, adds Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to his dominions, i. 130.

Mithridates IV. king of Pontus, i. 130.

Mithridates V. surnamed *Evergetes*, king of Pontus, aids the Romans against the Carthaginians, i. exxx; the Romans reward him with Phrygia Major, vi. 91; his death, 102.

Mithridates VI. surnamed *Eupator*, ascends the throne of Pontus, i. 130. vi. 102, 251; the Romans take Phrygia from him, 252; he possesses himself of Cappadocia and Bithynia, after having expelled their kings, ibid. 253; he gives his daughter in marriage to Tigranes, king of Armenia, ibid.; open rupture between Mithridates and the Romans, 255; that prince gains some advantages over the Romans, 257; he causes all the Romans and Italians in Asia Minor to be massacred in one day, 257; he makes himself master of Athens, 258; two of his generals are defeated by Sylla, 264, &c. and himself by Fimbria, 268; his fleet is also twice beaten, ibid.; he has an interview with Sylla, and concludes peace with the Romans, 270, 271; second war of the Romans with Mithridates under Muræna, 275; it subsists only three years, ibid.

Mithridates makes a treaty with Sertorius, vi. 276; he prepares to renew the war with the Romans, 278; he seizes Paphlagonia and Bithynia, ibid.; the Romans send Lucullus and Cotta against him, 279; Mithridates defeats Cotta by sea and land, ibid.; he forms the siege of Cyzicum, ibid.; Lucullus obliges him to raise it, and defeats his troops, 280; Mithridates takes the field to oppose the progress of Lucullus, 282; he is entirely defeated, and obliged to fly, 283; he sends orders to his sisters and wives to die, 284; he retires to Tigranes his son-in-law, 285; Tigranes sends him back into Pontus to raise troops, 290; Mithridates endeavours to console Tigranes after his defeat, 295; those two princes

apply in concert to raising new forces, 296 ; they are defeated by Lucullus, 300.

Mithridates, taking advantage of the misunderstanding in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions, vi. 301, 302 ; he is defeated on several occasions by Pompey, 308, 309 ; he endeavours in vain to find an asylum with Tigranes his son-in law, ibid. ; he retires into the Bosphorus, 313; he puts his son Xiphares to death, 315 ; he makes proposals of peace to Pompey, which are rejected, 316 ; he forms the design of attacking the Romans in Italy, 318 ; Pharnaces makes the army revolt against Mithridates, who kills himself, 319; character of Mithridates, 320.

Mithridates I. king of the Parthians, defeats Demetrius, and takes him prisoner, vi. 81 ; he carries that prince into his kingdom ; gives him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage, 82.

Mithridates II. surnamed the *Great*, ascends the throne of Parthia, vi. 97 ; he re-establishes Antiochus Eusebes, 116 ; sends an ambassador to Sylla to make an alliance with the Romans, 153; his death, 155.

Mithridates III. king of Parthia, vi. 156 ; Orodes his brother dethrones and puts him to death, ibid.

Mithridates, Persian lord, boasts of having given Cyrus the Younger his mortal wound, iii. 146 ; Parysatis causes him to be put to death, 173.

Mithridates, eunuch and great chamberlain of Xerxes, makes himself an accomplice in the murder of that prince, ii. 379; he is put to death by the punishment of the troughs, 383.

Mithridates of Pergamus brings troops to Cæsar in Egypt, vi. 338.

Mithrobarzanes, favourite of Tigranes, sent against Lucullus, vi. 290 ; himself and his troops are cut to pieces, ibid.

Mitylene, capital of the isle of Lesbos, ii. 157 ; that city is taken by the Athenians, 488.

Mnasippus is sent with a fleet by the Lacedæmonians to retake Corcyra from the Athenians, iii. 453 ; he is killed in a battle, ibid.

Mnaskires, king of the Parthians, iv. 155.

Mnevis, name of the ox adored in Egypt, i. 21.

Modesty : traces of it amongst the ancients, i. 343 ; it was absolutely neglected at Sparta, ii. 193.

Mœris, king of Egypt, i. 56 ; famous lake made by him, 9.

Moloch, name given Saturn in scripture, i. 90.

Molo is made governor of Media by Antiochus the Great, v. 180 ; he makes himself sovereign in his province, 181 ; but being defeated, he kills himself out of despair, 185.

Monarchy : original design of monarchy, i. 334 ; the best form of government, ii. 87, 88.

Monima of Ionia : Mithridates carries her with him in his train, vi. 257 ; she marries that prince, 284 ; tragical death of that princess, ibid.

Monuments erected by the ancients for those who died for their country, ii. 288, 323 ; what kind of monuments the most durable, 417, 446.

Moral Philosophy, or *Ethics* : it is properly speaking the science of kings, iv. 125, 126, &c.

Motya, city of Sicily, i. 120.

Mummie, of Egypt, i. 38.

Mummius, consul, is charged with the war in Achaia, vi. 34 ; defeats the Achæans, 36 ; takes Corinth, and demolishes it, 37 ; preserves the statue of Philopœmen, 41, 42 ; his disinterestedness, ibid. ; enters Rome in triumph, 42 ; goes on an embassy into Egypt, Asia, and Greece, 86.

Murena commands the left wing of Sylla's army at the battle of Cheronæa, vi. 264 ; Sylla, on setting out for Rome, leaves him the government of Asia, 274 ; he makes war against Mithridates, 275, and is defeated, ibid. ; but receives the honour of a triumph, 276.

Musæum : academy of the learned, instituted under that name at Alexandria, v. 22 ; description of that building called Musæum, 24.

Musicanus, Indian prince ; subjected by Alexander, iv. 324.

Music : to what perfection carried by the ancients, ii. 124 ; considered by

the Greeks an essential part in the education of of youth, iii. 315, &c.; theatre of music at Athens, ii. 421; prize of music instituted at the feast of Panathenea by Pericles, i. xxviii.

Mycale, promontory of Ionia, where the Greeks obtain a famous victory over the Persians, ii. 354.

Mycenæ, city of Argos, ii. 163; kings of Mycenæ, ibid.

Myccrinus, king of Egypt, i. 66; mildness of his reign, ibid.

Myron, Athenian sculptor, i. lx.

Myronides, general of the Athenians, defeats the Spartans near Tanagra in Bœotia, ii. 414.

Myrto, supposed second wife of Socrates, from whom he had much to suffer, iii. 235.

Myscellus, Achæan general, founder of Crotona, ii. 455.

Mysteries: feasts of the less and greater mysteries, celebrated at Athens in honour of Ceres Eleusina, i. xxxi.

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Nabarzanes, general of the horse in the army of Darius, perpetrates an horrible crime upon the person of that prince, iv. 244, 249; he retires into Hyrcania, 246; he surrenders himself to Alexander upon his promise, 255.

Nabis makes himself tyrant of Sparta, v. 268, 269; instances of his avarice and cruelty, 269, 270, 308; Philip puts Argos into his hands by way of deposite, 307; Nabis declares for the Romans against that prince, 308; the Romans declare war against him, 330; Q. Flaminius marches against him, 330; besieges him in Sparta, 334; obliges him to demand peace, 335; and grants it him, ibid.; Nabis breaks the treaty, 342; he is defeated by Philopœmen, 346, and obliged to shut himself up in Sparta, 347; he is killed, 352.

Nabonassar, or *Belesis*, king of Babylon, i. 316.

Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, joins with Cyaxares king of Media, besieges and entirely ruins Nineveh, i. 323; he associates his son Nebuchodonosor with him in the empire, and sends him at the head of an army against Nechao, ibid.; his death, ibid.

Nabuchodonosor I. or *Saosdochinus*, king of Nineveh, i. 322; attacked by Phraortes king of the Medes, 337; whom he defeats and puts to death, 323, 337; sends Holophernes with a powerful army to revenge him upon the people who had refused him aid, ibid.; entire defeat of his army, ibid.

Nabuchodonosor II. is associated in the empire of Assyria by Nabopolassar, i. 323, 77; defeats Nechao, and conquers Syria and Palestine, 323; takes Jerusalem, makes himself master of it, and carries away a great number of Jews to Babylon, ibid.; reigns alone after the death of his father, 324; his first dream, ibid.; marches against Jerusalem, takes it, and takes away all its treasures, 326; defeats the army of Pharoah king of Egypt, returns to Jerusalem, and demolishes its fortifications, 326, 80; causes himself to be adored as a God, ibid.; besieges Tyre, and takes it, 327; he makes himself master of Egypt, where he takes great spoils, 82; his second dream, 327; he is reduced to the condition of a beast, 328; recovers his former shape, re-ascends the throne, and dies, ibid.

Naphta, kind of bitumen very combustible, iv. 230.

Naravasus, Numidian lord, joins Barca in the war with the mercenaries, i. 173.

Navy, naval affairs of the ancients, iii. 329.

Naupactum, city of Ætolia, ii. 156; taken by Acilius, v. 365.

Naxos, island, one of the Cyclades, ii. 265; a sedition there occasions the revolt of the Ionians against Darius, ibid.

Neapolis, quarter of the city of Syracuse so called, iii. 24.

Nearchus, officer of Alexander, surveys the coast from the Indus to the bottom of the Persian gulph, iv. 326; he succeeds in his enterprise, 328, 329.

Nechao, king of Egypt, i. 75; he undertakes to open a communication between the Nile and the Red-sea, ibid.; able navigators by his order undertake to sail round Africa, and happily effect it, ibid.; marches a-

gainst the Babylonians and Medes to put a stop to their progress, ibid.; defeats Josiah king of Judah, who opposed his march, ibid.; beats the Babylonians, takes Carchemish, and returns into his kingdom, 76; on his way he goes to Jerusalem, deprives Jehoahaz of the crown, and gives it to Jehoiakim, ibid.; conquered by Nabuchodonosor, who retakes Carchemish, 323; his death, 77.

Nectanebus is placed by the revolted Egyptians upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Tachos, iii. 501; he is supported by Agesilaus, ibid.; by his aid he reduces the party of the prince of Mendes, 502; not being able to defend himself against Ochus, he escapes into Æthiopia, from whence he never returns, iv. 21.

Nehemiah, Jew, cup-bearer to Artaxerxes, obtains permission to return to Jerusalem, and to rebuild its fortifications, ii. 402; he acquits himself of his commission with incredible zeal, 403.

Neleus of Scepsis, to whom Theophrastus had left the works of Aristotle, vi. 273.

Nemea, games instituted near that city, i. lx.

Neolas, brother of Malo and Alexander, brings the latter the news of Malo's defeat by Antiochus, and then kills himself through despair, v. 185.

Neoptolemus, one of Alexander's captains, provinces that fell to him after the death of that prince, iv. 381; he joins Antipater and Craterus against Perdiccas and Eumenes, 404; he marches with Craterus against the latter, ibid.; is killed in a battle, 405; character of Neoptolemus, 403.

Neoptolemus, uncle of Pyrrhus, reigns in Epirus in his nephew's place, i. cxxxii; Pyrrhus causes him to be killed, ibid.

Neoptolemus, Greek poet, iv. 110.

Neriglissor conspires against Evilmerodach king of Assyria, and reigns in his stead, i. 329; he makes war against the Medes, and is killed in a battle, ii. 3.

Nero (C. Claudius), consul, quits his province, and makes haste to join his colleague, in order to their attacking Asdrubal, i. 224.

Nevius, Roman officer, surprises Philip's camp near Appollonia in the night, v. 233.

Nicandor is deputed by the Ætolians to Philip, v. 341; he endeavours to engage that prince to join Antiochus against the Romans, ibid.

Nicanor, officer in Alexander's army; rash boldness which costs him his life, iv. 302.

Nicanor, Cassander's brother, is put to death by Olympias, iv. 430.

Nicanor, governor of Media, surprised in his camp by Seleucus, and obliged to fly, iv. 452; he is killed in a battle, 471.

Nicanor, officer of Seleucus Ceraunus, poisons him, v. 180; and is put to death by Achæus, ibid.

Nicanor, lieutenant-general of Antiochus Epiphanes, marches against the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, v. 495, 496, 497; Demetrius Soter sends him with an army into Judæa to assist Alcimus, vi. 66; and is killed in battle, ibid.

Nicæa, built by Alexander where he had defeated Porus, iv. 309.

Nicias, general for the Athenians, makes them conclude a peace with the Lacedæmonians, iii. 14; opposes the war of Sicily in vain, 27, 28; he is appointed general with Lamachus and Alcibiades, 31; his conduct on arriving in Sicily, 36; after some expeditions, he forms the siege of Syracuse, 48; the city is reduced to extremities, 49; the arrival of Gylippus changes the face of affairs, 52; Nicias writes to the Athenians the state of his condition, and to demand reinforcement, 55; two colleagues are appointed him, 58; who compel him to engage in a sea-fight, in which he is defeated, 62; as is also his land army, 64; hazards another sea-fight, and is again defeated, 67, 68; determines to retire by land, 70; reduced to surrender at discretion, 75; condemned to die, and executed, 76.

Nicias, treasurer to Perseus, throws the treasures of Perseus into the sea by his order, v. 547, yet for it is put to death, ibid.

Nicocles, son of Evagoras of Salamin, iii. 494; his admirable character, ibid.

Nicocles, king of Paphos, submits to Ptolemy, iv. 450; makes an alliance

secretly with Antigonus, and kills himself, ibid.
Nicocles, tyrant of Sicyon, expelled by Aratus, v. 120.
Nicogenes, in whose house Themistocles resides at Ægæa, supplies his guest with the means of going to the court of Persia in safety, ii. 385.
Nicolaus, one of Ptolemy's generals, refuses to desert with Theodotus, and continues to adhere to Ptolemy, v. 191.
Nicolaus, venerable old man, pleads in behalf of the Athenian generals, iii. 74, 75.
Nicomedes I. king of Bithynia, builds Nicomedia, i. cxxviii.
Nicomedes II. son of Prusias king of Bithynia, goes to Rome, vi. 20; kills his father, who had given orders to kill him, and reigns in his stead, 21; sets up a child under the name of Ariarathes, and causes the kingdom of Cappadocia to be demanded for him of the Romans, 189, 252; his death, 254.
Nicomedes III. ascends the throne of Bithynia, vi. 254; dethroned by Mithridates, ibid.; but reinstated by the Romans, ibid.; again expelled by Mithridates, 257; Sylla reconciles him with Mithridates, who restores him his dominions, 272; Nicomedes, in gratitude, at his death leaves the Roman people his heirs, 277, 119.
Nicon, Athleta, adventure that happened to his statue, iii. 432.
Nicostratus, of Argos, one of Ochus's generals in Egypt, iv. 20.
Nicostratus, Achæan, defeats the troops of Androsthenes at Corinth, v. 318.
Nile, river of Africa: its sources, i. xi. cataracts of the Nile, xii; causes of its inundation, xiii; time that its inundation continues, ibid.; measure or depth of its inundation, xiv; canals of the Nile, xv; fertility occasioned by the Nile, xvi; double prospect occasioned by the Nile, xviii; canal of communication between the two seas by the Nile, xix.
Nilæus, son of Codrus, settles in Asia Minor, ii. 168.
Nimrod, founder of the Assyrian empire, i. 296; history confounds him with his son Ninus, 297; the scripture places him very near Abraham, for what reason, 299.
Nineveh, city of Assyria, its foundation, i. 298; description of that city, 299; kings of Nineveh, ibid.; its destruction, 323.
Ninus king of Assyria, often confounded with Nimrod, i. 299; builds Nineveh, ibid.; conquers the Bactrians, 340; marries Semiramis, has a son by her, and dies soon after, ibid.
Ninyas, son of Ninus, reigns in Assyria, i. 312; effeminacy and sloth of that prince, ibid.
Nitocris, queen of Babylon, i. 330; inscription on her tomb, ibid.
Noamon, famous city of Egypt, i. 71.
Nobility; what is truly so, iv. 444.
Nomi, or governments of Egypt, i. 2.
Numidians, people of Africa, whose principal force consisted in cavalry, 251.
Nypsus, general of Dionysius the Younger, relieves the citadel of Syracuse closely besieged by the Syracusans, iii. 408; he burns and plunders part of the city of Syracuse, 410; Dionysius drives him out of Syracuse, of which he had made himself master, 421.
Nysa, nurse of Bacchus, v. 114.
Nyssa, sister of Mithridates, falls into the hands of Lucullus, vi. 284.

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OBEDIENCE: model of it in the Spartan youth, ii. 178, 188; means for obtaining voluntary obedience, i. 363.
Obelisks of Egypt, i. 4.
Ocha, sister of Ochus, is buried alive by his order, iv. 2.
Ochus takes the name of Darius, from having put a stop to the insolence of Smerdis the Magus, ii. 233. See Darius 1.
Ochus, son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, marches at the head of a great army against Sogdianus, iii. 2; whom he takes and puts to death, ibid.; he ascends the throne of Persia, and changes his name from Ochus to Darius, 3.—See Darius Nothus.
Ochus, son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, opens his way to the empire by the murder of his brothers, ii. 505; he ascends the throne of Persia, and takes the name of Artaxerxes, iv. 1; cruelties

which he commits, 2; successful expedition against Phœnicia, 16; Cyprus, 17; and Egypt, 20; he abandons himself to pleasures, 23; poisoned by Bagoas, ibid.

Octavia, widow of Marcellus, and sister of young Cæsar, marries Anthony, vi. 349; she leaves Rome to go to Anthony, and arrives at Athens, 350; Anthony forbids her to come any farther, 351; she returns to Rome, ibid.; affront which she receives from Anthony, 354.

Octavius (Cn.) prætor, commands the Roman fleet against Perseus, v. 552, 579, 584; means which he uses to make that prince quit the island of Samothracia, which was deemed a sacred and inviolable asylum, 575; Perseus puts himself into his hands, 577; Octavius receives the honour of a triumph, 588; sent into Syria as ambassador, vi. 57; where he is murdered, 64; the senate erect a statue to him, ibid,

Octavius, Crassus' lieutenant, endeavours in vain to console him for his defeat, vi. 170; in his interview with Surena, 175, he is killed, 176.

Odeon, theatre of music, ii. 420.

Oebares, Darius' groom, to whom by address he secures the crown of Persia, ii. 88.

Oebazes, Persian lord, cruelly used by Darius, iii. 257.

Oeconomy: it is one of the principal qualities of political ability, iii. 425.

Oligarchy, what it is, i. 238.

Olthaces, king of Colchis, is subdued by Pompey, and serves as an ornament in his triumph, vi. 321.

Olympiads, their epocha, ii. 165.

Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus, is married to king Philip, and has by him Alexander the Great, iv. 49; Philip repudiates her, 108; Alexander carries her to Epirus, 109; Polysperchon recalls her, and divides the government with her, 414; she causes Aridæus and his wife to be put to death, 429; Cassander besieges her in Pydna, takes her prisoner, and puts her to death, 431.

Olympia, city of Elis, famous for the temple of Jupiter, i. 1.

Olympia, castle in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, iii. 43.

Olympic, solemn games of Greece, i. 1; ladies admitted to them, lii.

Olynthus, city of Thrace, iii. 438; the Lacedæmonians declare war against it, ibid.; it is reduced to surrender, 441; Olynthus, upon the point of being besieged by Philip, implores aid of the Athenians, iv. 64; Philip makes himself master of that city, by the treason of two of its citizens, and plunders it, 68.

Onesicritus, philosopher and historian: Alexander deputes him to the Brachmans, to engage them to join his train, iv. 313; he can prevail upon none of them to do so, except Calanus, 314.

Onesimus tries to dissuade Perseus from making war with the Romans, quits his party and retires to Rome, v. 549.

Onias, son of Jaddus, high-priest of the Jews, succeeds his father, iv. 408; his death, v. 3.

Onias, high-priest of the Jews, venerable for his piety, v. 464; refuses Heliodorus the treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, 465; deposed by Jason his brother, 469; his death, 472.

Onias, son of the former, retires into Egypt, vi. 71; and builds a temple there for the Jews, ibid.

Onamarchus, brother of Philometes general of the Phocæans, takes upon him the command of the troops in his stead, iv. 58; he is defeated by Philip, and killed in the battle, 60; his body is fastened to a gibbet, ibid.

Onomastes, governor of Thrace for Philip, executes the cruel decree of that prince against the people of Maronea, v. 420.

Ophellas, governor of Lybia and Cyrenaica, revolts against Ptolemy, 459; he suffers himself to be seduced by Agathocles, and carries his troops into the country of the Carthaginians, 460, i. 145; who put him to death, ibid.

Ophra, king of Egypt.—See Apries.

Oppius, proconsul, defeated and taken prisoner by Mithridates, vi. 256.

Oracles: famous ones of antiquity, i. xxxviii; of Dodona, xxxix; of Trophonius in Bœotia, ibid.; of the Branchidæ, xl; of Claros, ibid.; of Delphos,

xl; their usual character, 43; whether to be ascribed to the operation of devils, or the knavery of man, xliv.

Orations, funeral, made for those who had died fighting for their country, iii. 469.

Orator; quality most essential to an orator, iv. 28.

Orchestra, part of the theatre of the ancients, i. xcv.

Orchomenes, plain of Bœotia, where Sylla defeated Archelaus, vi. 267.

Orestes, son and successor of Agamemnon, ii. 163.

Orestes, Roman commissary, goes to Corinth, and notifies to the Achæans the decree of the senate for separating several cities from their league, vi. 32; flies to escape the violence of the people, ibid.

Oretes, governor of Sardis, puts Polycrates to death, and seizes the island of Samos, ii. 81; himself put to death by Darius, 236.

Oroandes, of Crete, promises Perseus to receive him into his ship, and embarks part of the riches of that prince, v. 576; he runs away with his treasures, ibid.

Orobazus is sent ambassador to Sylla by Arsaces king of Parthia, to make an alliance with the Romans, vi. 252; Arsaces puts him to death at his return, 253.

Orodes, king of Parthia, vi. 156; war of that prince with the Romans under Crassus, ibid.; Orodes, jealous of Surena's glory by the defeat of Crassus, puts him to death, 178; grief of that prince for the death of his son Pacorus, 183; he chuses Phraates for his successor, who puts him to death, ibid. 184.

Oromasdes, divinity worshipped by the Persians, ii. 138.

Orontes, son-in-law of Artaxerxes Mnemon, commands the land army of that prince in the war against Evagoras, iii. 216; he accuses Tiribasus falsely, 217; he terminates the war with Evagoras, by a treaty of peace, ibid.; Artaxerxes punishes him for his false accusation, 221.

Orontes, governor of Mysia, joins in a plot against Artaxerxes Mnemon, and then betrays it, iii. 503.

Orphans; Charondas' law in favour of them, ii. 458.

Orsaces, old general, accompanies Pacorus in his expeditions by order of Orodes, vi. 179; killed in battle, 180.

Orsines, governor of Passagardæ, re-establishes good order throughout the whole province, iv. 329; he goes to meet Alexander with magnificent presents, 330; put to death by the intrigues of the eunuch Bagos, 323, 332.

Orthia: inhuman worship rendered by the Lacedæmonians to Diana, ii. 179.

Ortygia, island near Syracuse, iii. 24.

Osæus.—See Hosea.

Osiris is defeated and taken prisoner by Megabysus, who generously sends him back to Artaxerxes, ii. 400.

Ostanes, chief of the Magi, accompanies Xerxes in his expedition against Greece, ii. 356.

Ostracism, sentence amongst the Athenians, by which persons were condemned to banishment, ii. 291; an end put to it by the banishment of Hyperbolus, iii. 21.

Osmandias, king of Egypt, i. 55; magnificent edifices which he causes to be erected, ibid.; famous library founded by that prince, 56; his tomb surrounded by a circle of gold, ibid.; which Cambyses afterwards took away, ii. 78.

Otanes, Persian lord, discovers the imposture of Smerdis the Magus, by the means of his daughter, ii. 85; he forms a conspiracy against that usurper, 86; re-establishes Syloson tyrant of Samos, 243.

Othryades, Lacedæmonian, obtains the victory for the Lacedæmonians over the Argives by his valour, i. cxiii. he kills himself upon the field of battle, ibid.

Oxathres, brother of Darius, distinguishes himself in the battle of Issus, iv. 168; Alexander puts Bessus into his hands, to inflict upon that traitor the punishment he deserved, 268.

Oxyartes entertains Alexander, and gives him Roxana in marriage, iv. 287.

Oxydracæ, people of India, iv. 319; their capital taken by Alexander, 320; to whom they submit, 321, 322.

Oxyrinchus, city of the lower Thebais, full of nuns and monks, i. 37; wonder related of that city by the Abbé Fleury in ecclesiastical history, ibid.

PACORAS, son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, enters Syria at the head of an army, and besieges Antioch, vi. 179; he raises the siege of that city, and is defeated in a battle, 180; returns into Syria, and is defeated and killed, 188.

Pagan: definition of a Pagan by Tertullian, ii. 391.—See Paganism.

Paganism: general reflections upon it, i. xxvi; absurdities of it, xxxv. xxxvii; what the highest perfection to be expected from it was, ii. 460.

Palamedes, tragedy of Euripedes on the death of Socrates, iii. 272.

Palestine, province of Syria, i. xxiii.

Palestræ, public shools for wrestling, i. lv.

Palica, city of Sicily, a temple near it, famous for the sanctity of the oaths taken there, ii. 452.

Palisades, difference of those used by the Greeks and Romans for fortifying their camps, v. 310.

Pammenes commands the Theban auxiliaries for Artabasus, by which he gains two considerable victories, iv. 2.

Pammenes, Athenian, relieves Megalopolis, besieged by the Laeedæmonians, iv. 12.

Pamphylia, province of Asia Minor, i. xxiii.

Panathenea, festival at Athens, i. xxvii.

Pancratium, kind of combat among the ancients, i. lviii.

Panesius, Stoic philosopher; he accompanies Scipio on his embassy to the kings of the East, vi. 70.

Pantouchus, Perseus' ambassador to Gentius, engages that prince in his master's interest against the Romans, v. 560.

Panthæa, wife of Abradates, is taken prisoner by Cyrus, ii. 5; conduct of that prince in regard to her, 6; she brings over her husband to Cyrus, 7; her discourse with him before the battle of Thymbria, 20; her excessive grief upon the death of Abradates, 25; stabs herself with a dagger, and falls dead upon her husband, 26.

Paphlagonia, province of Asia Minor, i. xxiii.

Papiria, mother of the second Scipio Africanus: magnificent liberality of Scipio in regard to her, i. 365.

Papyrus, plant of Egypt: description of it, i. 47.

Paralus, last of the legitimate children of Pericles, dies of the plague, ii. 475.

Parasanga, Persian measure, iii. 171.

Parchment, invention of, i. 48.

Paris, Trojan, returning home with Helen whom he had ravished, is carried by a tempest into one of the mouths of the Nile, i. 65; Proteus king of Egypt obliges him to leave Helen with him, and to quit Egypt, ibid.; Paris returns to Troy, ibid.

Parmenio, one of Alexander's generals, is placed at the head of the infantry in the expedition of that prince against the Persians, and does him great service, iv. 141; seizes the pass of Syria, and makes himself master of Issus, 162; Alexander confides the treasures laid up in Damascus, and the keeping of the prisoners to him, 176; Parmenio advises Alexander to accept Darius' offers, 199; surprise on seeing Alexander prostrate himself before the high-priest Jaddus, 202; Alexander causes him to be killed as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Philotas, 265; his praise, 266.

Parmys, daughter of the true Smerdis, marries Darius, ii. 234.

Parricide, reasons that prevented Solon from making any law against that crime, 204.

Partheniatæ, name given to the illegitimate children of the Lacedæmonians; when grown up, they banish themselves from Sparta, and settle at Tarentum in Italy, i. cxv.

Parthenone, temple of Minerva at Athens, ii. 418.

Parthia, country of the Parthians, province of Upper Asia, i. 22; beginning of the empire of the Parthians, vi. 153; kings of Parthia from Arsaces I. to Orodes, 154, &c.

Parysatis, sister and wife of Darius Nothus, iii. 5; her ascendant over her

husband, 96; idolatry of Parysatis for her son Cyrus, 119, iii. 121; she obtains pardon of Artaxerxes for him, and causes him to be sent back to his government, 122; cruelty and jealousy of Parysatis, 173; poisons Statira, 174; Artaxerxes confines her in Babylon, ibid.

Pasargada, city of Persia, submits to Alexander, iv. 243.

Paterbemis, officer of Apries, not having been able to seize Amasis, in the midst of the revolted Egyptians, is treated in the most cruel manner by that prince, i. 81.

Patience of the Spartans, ii. 179.

Patisithes, chief of the Magi, places his brother Smerdis upon the throne of Persia, ii. 83; he is killed with his brother, 87.

Patroclus, governor of Babylon, abandons it upon the approach of Demetrius, and retires into the marshes, v. 455.

Patroclus commands the fleet sent to the aid of the Athenians, v. 89; causes Sotades the satyric poet to be put to death, 90.

Patroclus, Athenian, accuses Demosthenes, iv. 33; bad success of his accusation, ibid.

Patron, general of the Greeks, advises Darius in vain to let them be his guard, iv. 244, 245.

Paulus Æmilius.—See Æmilius.

Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon, commands the Greeks jointly with Aristides, at the battle of Platæa, ii. 347; his pride loses the Lacedæmonians the command, 367; his secret conspiracy with the Persians, 368; he is discovered, ibid.; and punished, 369.

Pausanias, king of Sparta, commands at the siege of Athens, iii. 115; obtains peace for the Athenians, 131; neglects to join Lysander; is summoned to appear, 199; but refuses, and is condemned to die, ibid.; retires to Tegæa, and dies there, ibid.

Pausanias, Macedonian prince, possesses himself of the throne of Macedonia, iv. 42; he is dethroned by Iphicrates, ibid.

Pausanias, young Macedonian lord, cannot obtain satisfaction of Philip for an insult which he had received from Attalus, iv. 110; he assassinates Philip in revenge, and is torn to pieces upon the spot, 111.

Pausistratus, commander of the Rhodian fleet, defeated by Polyxenides, and killed, v. 369.

Pay of the troops by sea and land amongst the ancients, iii. 333, 334.

Peace; it ought to be the end of every wise government, v. 419, 420.

Pedaretus, Lacedæmonian, his love of his country, ii. 92.

Pelasgus teaches the first Greeks to live upon acorns, ii. 161.

Pella, capital of Macedonia, famous for the birth of Philip and Alexander, iv. 40.

Pelopidas, Theban: his character, iii. 442; his friendship with Epaminondas, ibid.; he abandons Thebes, and retires to Athens, 440; forms the design of reinstating the liberty of his country, 442; elected Bœotarch, 449; drives the garrison out of the citadel, 450; he causes the Athenians declare for the Thebans, 451; gains an advantage over the Lacedæmonians near Tegyra, 454; commands the sacred battalion at Leuctra, 458; with Epaminondas ravages Laconia, and advances to the gates of Sparta, 463, 469; at his return he is accused and acquitted, 467; sent ambassador to the court of Persia, 470; his credit with Artaxerxes, ibid.; Pelopidas marches against Alexander tyrant of Pheræ, and reduces him, 473; he goes to Macedonia to appease the troubles of that court, and brings away Philip as an hostage, 474, iv. 42; he returns into Thessaly, 475; is seized and made prisoner by treachery, ibid.; he animates Thebé wife of Alexander against her husband, 476, 477; is delivered by Epaminondas, 477; Pelopidas marches against the tyrant, gains a victory over him, and is killed in the battle, 479; singular honours paid to his memory, 481.

Pelopidas sent ambassador by Mithridates to demand satisfaction of the Romans, and to declare war against them in case of refusal, vi. 254.

Peloponnesus, south part of Greece, now called the Morea, ii. 155; Peloponnesian war, 462.

Pelops gives his name to Peloponnesus, ii. 163.

Pelusium, the key of Egypt, i. 19.
Pensions, manner of giving them in Persia, ii. 109.
Pentacosiomedimni, citizens of the first class at Athens, iii. 297.
Pentathlum, assemblage of several agonistic exercises amongst the Greeks, i. lx.
Penthilus, son of Orestes, reigns at Mycenæ with his brother Tisamenes, ii. 163.
People, description and character of the people, ii. 409, iv. 6, 417, vi. 22.
Perdiccas, son of Amyntas II. made king of Macedonia by Pelopidas, iii. 474, iv. 43; killed in a battle against the Illyrians, iii. 475.
Perdiccas, one of Alexander's generals, receives that prince's ring a moment before his death, iv. 350, 380; provinces which fell to him, 381; appointed guardian of Aridæus, and regent of the empire, 380; puts Statira, Alexander's widow, to death, 383; quells the revolt of the Greeks in Asia, ibid.; puts Eumenes into possession of Cappadocia, 401; marries Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, 402; his unfortunate expeditiou into Egypt, 404; where he is killed, 406.
Pergamus, city of great Mysia in Asia Minor, i. xxiii; its kings, cxxix. cxxx; it becomes a Roman province, vi. 91.
Periander, king of Corinth, one of the seven sages, ii. 166, 225.
Pericles, Athenian: his extraction, ii. 405; his education, ibid.; care that he takes to cultivate his mind by the study of the sciences, and of exercising himself in eloquence, 406; means that he employs for gaining the favour of the people, 409; reduces the power of the Areopagus, 410, 417; Thucydides is opposed to him, ibid.; he adorns Athens with magnificent buildings, ibid.; envied by the Athenians, 418; justifies himself, and causes Thucydides to be banished, 420; he changes his conduct in respect to the people, 421; his great authority, 422; his disinterestedness, 423.
Expeditions of Pericles into the Thracian Chersonesus, ii. 427; about Peloponnesus, ii. 427; against Eubœa, 428; he reduces the Samians, and demolishes their walls, 429; causes aid to be granted to the people of Corcyra against the Corinthians, ibid. troubles given him by his enemies, 435; determines the Athenians to enter into a war with the Lacedæmonians, 439; and to shut themselves up within their walls, 465; he prevents them from taking the field, whilst their lands are ravaged, 465; he makes the funeral oration of the Athenians killed during the campaign, 470; he is divested of the command, and fined, 475; his grief for the death of his son, 476; the Athenians re-instate him, 478; and permit him to inrol his illegitimate son amongst the citizens, 478; death of Pericles, 479; his praise, ibid.
Pericles, son of the former, one of the Athenian generals who defeated the Lacedæmonians near the island Arginusæ, is condemned with his colleagues to die, iii. 103, 108.
Perinthus, besieged by Philip, and saved by Phocion, iv. 87, 91.
Perjury: punishment of perjury in Egypt, i. 27.
Perpenna, Roman ambassador to Gentius, is imprisoned, v. 560; delivered by Anicius, and sent to Rome with the news of his victory, 561; when consul, defeats Aristonicus and takes him prisoner, vi. 91; he dies on his return to Rome, ibid.
Perseus, first king of Mycenæ, ii. 162.
Perseus, son of Philip, last king of Macedonia, conspires against his brother Demetrius, and accuses him to Philip, v. 442, &c.; his speech against his brother, 448; removes from court to avoid his father's indignation, 463; takes possession of the throne of Macedonia after his father's death, 464; puts Antigonus, whom his father had chosen his successor, to death, 512; he prepares for war with the Romans, 513; he endeavours to gain allies, ibid.; he tries in vain to bring over the Achæans, ibid.; the Romans are informed of his secret measures, 515; Eumenes confirms them concerning his proceedings, ibid.; Perseus endeavours to rid himself of that prince, first by assassination, 518, and afterwards by poison, 519; rupture between him and the Romans, ibid.; interview with Marcius, 523;

war declared in form, 523; Perseus advances with his troops near the river Teneus, 532, 533; battle of the cavalry, in which he is victor, but makes an ill use of it, 535; makes proposals of peace which are rejected, 538, 539; he takes fright upon the arrival of the consul Marcius in Macedonia, and leaves him the passage open, 546; he resumes courage soon after, 547; solicits aid on all sides, 556; his avarice loses him considerable succours, 558; he is entirely defeated by Paulus Æmilius at Pydna, 570, &c.; taken prisoner with his children, 576; and serves as an ornament in the triumph of Paulus Æmilius, 588; death of Perseus, 589.

Persepolis, capital of Persia, taken by Alexander, who burns the palace in a drunken frolic, iv. 241, 242.

Persia, province of Asia, i. xxii; foundation of the Persian empire by Cyrus, ii. 56; kings who reigned in Persia; Cyrus, ibid.; Cambyses, 74; Smerdis the Magian, 84; Darius son of Hystaspes, 233; Xerxes, 296; Artaxerxes Longimanus, 382; Xerxes, iii. 1; Sogdianus, ibid.; Darius Nothus, 2; Artaxerxes Mnemon, 120; Ochus, iv. 1; Arses, 23; Darius Codomanus, 24; destruction by Alexander, 247; with the vices which occasioned that decline and ruin, ibid. ii. 148, 143. iii. 506, 507. 508.

Manners and customs of the Persians, ii. 89; education of the Persians in the time of Cyrus, i. 49; government of the Persians, ii. 89; form of it monarchial, ibid.; coronation of their kings, iii. 121; respect paid to them, ii. 90; manner of educating their children, 91, 92; public council, 93; administration of justice, 95; attention to provinces, 99; invention of posts and couriers, 104; care of their finances, 107; of war, 116; entrance into the troops, ibid.; arms of the Persians, 111; their chariots armed with scythes, 112; military discipline of the Persians, 114; their order of battle, 115; manner of going to battle, iii. 144; quality of the Persian troops in the time of Cyrus, and after that prince, ii. 4, 120; arts and sciences of the Persians, 122; their religion, 133; their marriages and burials, 139.

Petalism, kind of sentence established at Syracuse, ii. 45.

Petra, strong place in the Nabathæan Arabia, iv. 455.

Petra Oxiana, inaccessible rock, iv. 278; taken by Alexander, 280.

Peucestes, one of Alexander's captains, distinguishes himself at the siege of Oxydracæ, iv. 319; provinces which fell to him after the death of Alexander, 381; he opposses the progress of Pithon, and drives him out of Media, 429.

Phalanthus, general of the Spartans called Partheniatæ, settles them at Tarentum, i. cxv.

Phalanx, Macedonian description of it, iv. 51.

Phalaris, his bull taken at the siege of Agrigentum, and sent to Carthage, i. 126.

Phalecus is appointed general of the Phoceans during the sacred war, in the room of Phayllus, iv. 60; he pillaged the temple of Delphos, as the other had done, and is deposed, ibid.

Phalera, part of Athens, ii. 361.

Phamœus, general of the Carthaginian cavalry, dares not take the field when Scipio is to support the foragers, i. 265; he goes over to the Romans, 266.

Phanes of Halicarnassus, general of the Greek auxiliaries in the army of Amasis, goes over upon some discontent to Cambyses, ii. 74; the Greeks in the king of Egypt's service murder his children, and in presence of the two armies drink their blood, 75.

Pharaoh, common name of the kings of Egypt, i. 57; one of them gives his daughter to Solomon in marriage, 67.

Pharisees, powerful sect in Judæa, vi. 108, 109; persecution of Alexander Jannæus and his party by the Pharisees, 125, 139, 140; end of that persecution, 142.

Pharnabasus, governor of Asia, and general of the troops of Darius and Artaxerxes, kings of Persia, aids the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, iii. 90, 91; he makes peace with the latter, 92; he sends complaints against Lysander to Sparta,

iii. 135; his whole province is ravaged by Agesilaus, 194; interview of Agesilaus and Pharnabasus, 195; the latter charged by Artaxerxes with the war against Egypt, 496; the enterprise miscarries through his fault, 498.

Pharnaces revolts against his father Mithridates, and is elected king in his stead, vi. 318; declared the friend and ally of the Romans, 321; driven out of Pontus by Cæsar, 343.

Pharnacias, eunuch of Xerxes II. supplies Sogdianus with the means for assassinating that prince, iii. 1.

Pharos, its famous tower or light-house, v. 21.

Phasael, brother of Herod, made governor of Jerusalem, vi. 149; being taken by the Parthians and put in irons, he kills himself, ibid.

Phayllus, general of the Phocæans, during the sacred war, plunders the temple of Delphos, to defray the expences thereof, iv. 60; his death, ibid.

Phayllus, of Crotona, his love for the Greeks, and valour, iv. 229.

Phebidas, Lacedæmonian, sets out from Sparta at the head of a body of troops against Olynthus, iii. 429; he seizes the citadel of Thebes by fraud, 420; he is deprived of the command, and fined, 441.

Phedyna, daughter of Otanes, and wife of Smerdis the Magus, discovers that usurper's imposture, ii. 84, 85; and after his death marries Darius, 244.

Phenicia or *Phœnicia*, province of Syria, i. xxiii; revolts against Ochus, iv. 16.

Pherendates, governor of Egypt for Ochus, iv. 21.

Pheron, king of Egypt, i. 64; action of that prince against the Nile, ibid.

Phidias, famous statuary, has the direction of the public buildings at Athens, ii. 420; ingratitude of the Athenians to him, 436.

Phila, Antipater's daughter, wife to Craterus, iv. 397; andafter to Demetrius Poliorcetes, 468; kills herself with poison, v. 16; praise of that princess, 47.

Phila, daughter of Seleucus, marries Antiochus Gonatus, v. 50.

Philadelphus, name given ironically to Ptolemy II. king of Egypt, v. 20. See Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Philammon assassinates Arsinoe, wife of Ptolemy Philopator, v. 199; for which he is beaten to death with staves, by the ladies of honour to that princess, 277.

Philæni, two brothers, citizens of Carthage, sacrifice their lives for the good of their country, i. 115; the Carthaginians, out of gratitude, consecrate two altars to them, ibid.

Philænius, Lacedæmonian, accompanies Hannibal in his expeditions, and composes the history of that captain, i. 249.

Philemon, comic poet, preferred by the Greeks to Menander, in his own lifetime, i. xcv.

Philetera, founder of the kingdom of Pergamus, i. cxxix. v. 91; means which he uses for supporting himself in that kingdom, 92.

Philidas, one of the conspirators against the tyrant of Thebes, finds means to be made their secretary, iii. 445; on the day fixed, he gives the tyrant a supper, 446; and they are killed at his house, 449.

Philip, son of Amyntas II. king of Macedonia; his birth, iv. 40; Pelopidas carries him to Thebes as an hostage, ii. 474, iv. 42; he flies from Thebes into Macedonia, and is placed upon the throne, 43; beginnings of his reign, ibid.; he makes a captious peace with the Athenians, 45; his first conquests, 47; birth of Alexander, 49; Philip's care of his education, ibid; he endeavours to subject Thrace, and takes Methone, at the siege of which place he loses an eye, 58, 59; conciliates the amity of the Thessalians, and expels their tyrants, 60, 61; he endeavours to seize the pass of Thermopylæ in vain, ibid.; he takes the city of Olynthus, notwithstanding the efforts of the Athenians to prevent it, 68; he declares for the Thebans against the Phocæans, and begins in that manner to share in the sacred war, 69; he lulls the Athenians with a false peace, and false promises, 71; he seizes Thermopylæ, reduces the Phocæans, and terminates the sacred war, 74, 75; he causes himself to be admitted into

the council of the Amphictyons, 76.
Philip, on his return into Macedonia, pushes his conquests into Illyrium and Thrace, iv. 77; he enters into a league with the Thebans, Argives, and Messenians, for attacking Peloponnesus with their joint forces, 80; Athens, declaring for the Lacedæmonians, breaks that league, 82; Philip makes an attempt upon Eubœa, 83; Phocion drives him out of that island, 85; Philip forms the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, 87; Phocion obliges him to raise both these sieges, 91; Philip subjects Atheas king of the Scythians, and the Triballi, people of Mœsia, 92; by his intrigues he causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks, in the council of the Amphictyons, 95; he seizes Elatæa, ibid.; the Athenians and Thebans enter into a league against him, 99; he makes proposals of peace, which are rejected by the advice of Demosthenes, ibid.; battle of Chæronea, in which Philip gains a great victory, 101, 102; Philip, in the council of the Amphictyons, causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks against the Persians, and prepares for that great expedition, 108; domestic troubles in his family, 109; he repudiates Olympias, and marries another wife, ibid.; he celebrates the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter, with Alexander king of Epirus, and is killed in the midst of them, ibid. 110; memorable actions and sayings of Philip, 112; good and bad characters of that prince, ibid. 113.
Philip, son of Demetrius, ascends the throne of Macedonia, v. 175, 176; his affection for Aratus, 202; he takes upon him the defence of the Achæans against the Ætolians, ibid.; different expeditions of Philip against the enemies of the Achæans, 209; strange abuse that Apelles his minister makes of his confidence, 210; irruption of Philip into Ætolia, 216; 217; he takes Thermæ by surprise, 218; excesses committed there by his soldiers, ibid.; prudence which he shews in his retreat, 219; trouble in his camp, 220; punishment of the authors of them, 221; irruption of Philip into Laconia, ibid.; new intrigue of the conspirators, 222; their punishment, 224, 225; Philip takes Thebes of Phthiotis from the Ætolians, 227; he concludes a peace with them, 228, 229.
Philip concludes a treaty with Hannibal, v. 231; he makes preparations for carrying the war into Italy, 232; he is surprised and defeated by the Romans at Appollonia, 233; his change of conduct, 234; his bad faith and irregularities, ibid.; he causes Aratus to be poisoned, 235; he makes himself master of the city and castle of Lissus, 236; he gains several advantages over the Ætolians, 240; he is repulsed near the city of Elis, 242: different actions of Philip against Sulpitius, 251, 252, &c.; he makes peace with the Romans, 270, 271; he enters into a league with Antiochus, for invading the dominions of Ptolemy Epiphanes, 278; bad success of Philip against Attalus and the Rhodians, 279; his cruel treatment of the Cianians, 280; he besieges and takes Abydos, 281, 282; he ravages Attica, 285; the Romans declare war against him, 286.
Philip makes ineffectual attempts against Athens, v. 286; he endeavours to bring over the Ætolians into his party, 291; he is defeated in a battle by Sulpitius, 293; he is reduced to abandon the defiles along the Apsus, 300; ineffectual interview of Philip with Flaminius, concerning peace, 307; he is defeated by Flaminius near Scotusa and Cynoscephale in Thessaly, 315; the Romans grant him a peace, 320; Philip aids Quintius against Nabis, 330; his conduct to Scipio, 368: Philip's causes of discontent from the Romans, 415, &c.; the Romans order him to evacuate the cities of Thrace, 420; he discharges his revenge upon the inhabitants of Maronea, ibid.; he sends his son Demetrius on an embassy to Rome, 422; complaints against Philip sent to Rome, 438; the Romans send back his son with ambassadors, 440; Philip prepares to renew the war with the Romans, 441; plots of Perseus against Demetrius, 442, 443; he accuses him to Philip, 445; upon a new accusation Philip causes Demetrius to be put to

death, 461 ; he discovers his innocence some time after, and Perseus's guilt, 463 ; whilst he meditates the punishment of the latter, he dies, 464.

Philip pretends himself son of Perseus, and seizes the kingdom of Macedonia, vi. 29 ; he is defeated and killed by Tremellius, 31.

Philip, one of Alexander's captains : provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, iv. 381.

Philip, in concert with his brother Antiochus, destroys the city of Mopsuestia, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, vi. 116 ; he reigns in Syria with his brother Demetrius, after having driven out Eusebes, ibid. ; his death, 117.

Philip, Phrygian, made governor of Judæa by Epiphanes, v. 479.

Philip, favourite of Antiochus Epiphanes, made guardian to his son Antiochus Eupator, and regent of Syria, v. 500 ; Lysias usurps that employment, and Philip retires into Egypt, vi. 55.

Philip of Acarnania, physician, known from the salutary draught which he gave Alexander, iv. 155.

Philipsburg, town of Germany, besieged and taken by the French, v. 403.

Philiscus, sent by Artaxerxes to reconcile the states of Greece, iii. 469.

Philistus, the historian of Syracuse, pays a fine for Dionysius, iii. 346, who banishes him, 378 ; recalled by Dionysius the Younger, 389 ; his death, 406 ; he may be considered as a great historian, 389.

Philocles, Macedonian, devoted to Perseus, is sent by Philip on an embassy to Rome, v. 459 ; at his return he delivers a forged letter to that prince, under the counterfeited seal of T. Quintius, which occasions the death of Demetrius, 460 ; Philip causes him to be seized and put to the question, in which he dies, 462, 463.

Philocles, Athenian general, defeated and made prisoner by Lysander, iii. 114 ; he is put to death, 115.

Philomelus, general of the Phocæans, sets them against the decree of the Amphictyons, and determines them to take arms, iv. 56 ; he makes himself master of the temple of Delphi, and takes the riches of it to pay his troops, 57 ; being defeated in a battle, he throws himself headlong from the top of a rock, 58.

Philonides, runner to Alexander the Great, famous for his swiftness, i. lxii.

Philopœmen, Megalopolitan, determines his citizens to reject the offers of Cleomenes, v. 165, 170 ; he signalizes himself at the battle of Selasia, 171 ; he distinguishes himself in the battle near the city of Elis, 241, 242 ; his education, 242 ; his great qualities, 243, &c. ; he is elected general of the horse by the Achæans, 246 ; he reforms the Achæan troops, 248 ; he is elected captain-general of the Achæans, 262 ; he gains a famous victory over Machanidas tyrant of Sparta, and kills him in the battle, 264, 266 ; the Achæans erect him a statue, ibid. ; honours which he receives in the assembly at the Nemean games, 267 ; Philopœmen is defeated at sea by the tyrant Nabis, 346, 347 ; he gains a famous victory over that tyrant near Sparta, 347 ; after the death of Nabis he seizes Sparta, and obliges that city to enter into the Achæan league, 352 ; he refuses the presents offered him by the Spartans, 353 ; he secretly favours the Spartan exiles, and causes war to be declared against that city, 398 ; he makes himself master of Sparta, and reinstates the exiles, 399 ; he attacks Messene, and is taken prisoner, 426 ; the Messenians put him to death, 427 ; honours paid to his memory, 428, 429 ; trial of Philopœmen after his death, ibid. vi. 41.

Philosophers, *Philosophy*. It is wonderfully proper for forming the hero, iii. 490 ; the study of this science incompatible with slavery, ii. 454.

Philotas, son of Parmenio, commands a body of horse in Alexander's expedition against Persia, iv. 141 ; the pretended conspiracy for which he is put to death, 260, 265.

Philotas, governor of Asia, put to death by Pithon, iv. 429.

Philoxenus, poet, favourite of Dionysius the tyrant ; his generous freedom, iii. 376, &c.

Philoxenus, Macedonian, seizes Harpalus, and causes him to be put to the question, iv. 337.

Phoceæ, city of Ionia, condemned to be destroyed by the Romans, vi. 91; the Marseillians, originally descended from that city, obtain pardon for it, 93.

Phocis, part of Grecce, iii. 25; it is ravaged by Xerxes, ii. 328; the Lacedæmonians deprive the people of Phocis of the custody of the temple of Delphi, 428; Pericles restores it to them, ibid.; the Phocæans till the ground consecrated to Apollo, iv. 56, and are charged with sacrilege, and fined, ibid.; they take up arms against the decree of the Amphictyons, ibid; the latter make war against the Phocœans, 57; Philip reduces them, 75.

Phocion, general of the Athenians, drives Philip out of Eubœa, iv. 84; he makes that prince raise the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, 90; he rejects the offers of Harpalus, 435; he endeavours in vain to prevent the Athenians from engaging in the Lamian war, 384; condemned to die by the Athenians, 416; his body is carried out of the territory of Attica, 417; the Athenians erect a statue to him, and inter his bones honourably, 421; character and praise, 82, 417.

Phœnix, fabulous bird; wonders related of it, i. 20.

Phoroneus, king of Argos, ii. 162.

Phraates I. son of Priapatius, king of Parthia, vi. 154.

Phraates II. succeeds his father Mithridates in the kingdom of Parthia, vi. 154; thrice defeated by Antiochus Sidetes, 95; defeats Antiochus, who is killed in the battle, ibid.; he releases Demetrius, 96; he marries one of that prince's daughters, ibid.; defeated by the Scythians, and is killed in flying, 97.

Phraates III. surnamed *Theos*, king of the Parthians, vi. 154; he makes an alliance with the Romans during the war with Mithridates, 156; he espouses the part of Tigranes the younger against his father, ibid.; death of Phraates, ibid.

Phraates IV. is nominated king by his father Orodes, vi. 184; whom he puts with his brothers and his son to death, 185.

Phraortes, king of the Medes, succeeds his father Dejoces, i. 336; subdues Upper Asia, ibid.; makes war against the Assyrians, 337; he is defeated and put to death, 338.

Phrataphernes, one of Alexander's generals; provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, iv. 381.

Phrygia, province of Asia Minor, i. xxiii.

Phrynicus, one of the Athenian generals, opposes the recal of Alcibiades, iii. 83; he is divested of the command, 84.

Phrynon, general of the Athenians, ii. 224; killed in a duel by Pittacus, ibid.

Phyllius, Lacedæmonian officer, is killed at the siege of Sparta by Pyrrhus, fighting valiantly, v. 81.

Physcon. See Ptolemy Evergetes, surnamed Physcon.

Phyto, general of the troops of Rhegium, defends that city against Dionysius, iii. 371; Dionysius, after having made him suffer great indignities, puts him to death, 372.

Pindar, Greek lyric poet, character of his works, ii. 449.

Piræus, port of Athens, ii. 361.

Piromis, name given to kings, said by the Egyptian priests to have reigned in Egypt, i. 71.

Pisander, Athenian, persuades the Athenians to recall Alcibiades, iii. 84; the Athenians send him to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes, ibid.; at his return he changes the form of government, 85.

Pisander, Lacedæmonian, is appointed by Agesilaus his brother-in-law to command the fleet, iii. 194; is defeated by Conon near Cnidos, and killed in the battle, 202, &c.

Pisistratus, Athenian, makes himself tyrant of Athens, ii. 205, 206; lenity of his government, 208; death, ibid. his character, 206; library founded by him at Athens, 208.

Piso (Calphurnius), consul, commands at the siege of Carthage, i. 266.

Pisuthnes, governor of Lydia for Darius, revolts, iii. 4; is taken and put to death, ibid.

Pithon, one of Alexander's captains, is made governor of Media by Antipater, iv. 408; he causes Philotas to be put to death, and takes possession of his government, 429; he is

driven out of Media by Peucestes, and obliged to retire to Seleucus, ibid.; Antigonus puts him to death, 445.

Pittacus of Mitylene, one of the seven sages of Greece, drives out the tyrant who oppressed his country, ii. 224; he commands the army against the Athenians, ibid.; he challenges Phrynon their general to single combat, and kills him, ibid.; the inhabitants of Mitylene give him the sovereignty of their city, ibid.; he voluntarily abdicates his authority at the expiration of ten years, and retires, ibid.; his death, ibid.

Places: attack and defence of places by the ancients, ii. 117, &c., 481, 482.

Plague, contagious distemper, ii. 471; description of that disease, ibid.

Platæa, city of Bœotia, ii. 156; the Platæans acquire glory at the battle of Marathon, 283; they refuse to submit to Xerxes, 316; the Greeks decree the prize of valour to them after the defeat of Mardonus, 350; institute an anniversary festival in honour of those who died in the battle, 352; siege of Platæa by the Thebans, 463; Platæa besieged and taken by the Lacedæmonians, 480, 493, iii. 455; the Platæans retire to Athens, 456; they induce Alexander to destroy Thebes, iv. 133, 134; that prince permits them to build their city, 229.

Plato retires to Mægara to avoid the rage of the Athenians, iii. 272; travels into Sicily, 300; his friendship with Dion, ibid.; second voyage into Sicily, 389; wonderful change occasioned by his presence at the court of Dionysius the Younger, 390; a conspiracy of the courtiers to prevent its effects, 391; he quits the court, and returns into Greece, 394; adventure that happens to him at Olympia, ibid.; goes a third time to Sicily; returns to the court of Dionysius the Younger, 397; Dionysius differs with him, ibid.; he permits him to return into Greece, 398; his death, iv. 23.

Plemmyrium, isle near Syracuse, iii. 44.

Plestarchus, son of Leonidas king of Sparta, ii. 368.

Plisthenes, son of Atreus, king of Mycenæ, ii. 163.

Plistonax, king of Lacedæmonia, takes pains to cause a treaty be concluded between Athens and Sparta, iii. 14; his death, 99.

Plutarch of Eretria calls in the Athenians to aid Eubœa against Philip, iv. 82; his perfidy, 84; Phocion drives him out of Eretria, ibid.

Pœcile, a gallery or porch of paintings at Athens, where the Stoics used to assemble, ii. 289.

Poem, epic, ii. 216, i. lxxvi; dramatic, ibid.; satyric, lxxxi.

Poesy. Greek poets, ii. 214; emulation in disputing the prizes in the Olympic games, i. lxxv; poets who invented and improved tragedy and comedy, lxxvii, lxxviii.

Polemarch, magistrate at Athens, employed both to administer justice and command armies, ii. 283, iii. 306.

Poliorcetes, name given Demetrius, son of Antigonus, iv. 448.

Politics. Policy: wherein it consists, ii. 425, 426, iii. 81, 132, 181; effects of false policy, i. xxxi. ii. 479, ibid.; policy of the Romans, vi. 2, 4, 18, 61; language of politicians, iv. 12.

Polyænus, senator of Syracuse, harangues the people upon the action of Andranadorus, after the death of Hieronymus, vi. 219.

Polybidas, Lacedæmonian, is charged with the war against Olynthus, and takes that city, iii. 441.

Polybius, Greek historian: his function at the funeral of Philopœmen, v. 428; chosen ambassador to Ptolemy Epiphanes by the Achæans, 437; elected general of the horse, 542; deputed to the Consul Mareius, 543, 545; saves the Achæans a considerable expence, 548; he is included in the number of the exiles, and carried to Rome, vi. 12; his friendship with the second Scipio Africanus, ibid. i. 278; returns to Achaia, vi. 40; zeal in defending Philopœmen's memory, ibid.; proof which he gives of his disinterestedness, 41; he establishes good order and tranquillity in the country, 42; returns to Rome, and accompanies Scipio to the siege of Numantia, ibid.; after Scipio's death

he returns to his own country, where he ends his days, ibid.

Polybius, officer in the army of the Acheans, v. 265.

Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, ii. 81; singular history of that tyrant, ibid. 82; his miserable end, 83.

Polycrates, first minister of Ptolemy Epiphanes, render that prince great services, v. 413.

Polydamus, famous Athleta of antiquity, i. lvii.

Polydectes, king of Sparta, and brother of Lycurgus, i. cxii.

Polydorus, brother of Jason, tyrant of Pheræ, killed by Polyphron his brother, iii. 473.

Polygamy, allowed in Egypt, i. 29.

Polygnotus, famous painter, generous action of his to the Athenians, ii. 289.

Polyperchon, Syracusan, kills Callippus, Dion's murderer, iii. 417.

Polyphron is substituted to Jason, tyrant of Pheræ, his brother, iii. 473; kills Polydorus his other brother, and is soon after killed himself by Alexander of Pheræ, ibid.

Polysperchon, one of Alexander's generals, reduces a country called Bubacene, iv. 288; ridicules a Persian for prostrating himself before Alexander, 289; for which he is put in prison, and soon after pardoned, ibid.; takes the city of Ora, 299; is appointed regent of the kingdom, and governor of Macedonia by Antipater, 412; he recalls Olympias, 414; he endeavours to secure Greece to himself, ibid.; driven out of Macedonia by Cassander, 430; causes Hercules the son of Alexander, and his mother Barsina, to be put to death, 457.

Polystratus, Macedonian soldier, carries drink to Darius at the point of death, and receives his last words, vi. 246.

Polyxenides, admiral to Antiochus the Great, defeated by Livius, v. 367; he defeats Pausistratus who commanded the fleet of Rhodes, by a stratagem, 369; he is defeated by Æmilius, and reduced to retire to Ephesus, 372.

Polyzenus, brother-in-law of Dionysius, having declared against him, flies, iii. 367.

Polyzelus, brother of Hiero I. king of Syracuse, gives his brother umbrage, ii. 445; Theron his son-in-law takes his part, ibid.

Pompeius (L.) Roman officer, commands a small body of troops during the war with Perseus, and retires to an eminence, where he defends himself valiantly, v. 540.

Pompey succeeds Lucullus in the war against Mithridates, vi. 303; his conduct upon arriving in his government, 305; he offers Mithridates peace, 308; he gains several victories over that prince, ibid. 309; he marches into Armenia against Tigranes, who comes and surrenders himself to him, 310; he pursues Mithridates, and in his way subjects the Albanians and Iberians, 312; tired of following Mithridates, he comes to Syria, of which he takes possession, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucides, 124, 314; he marches to Pontus, 315; he returns into Syria, 316; Pompey's expeditions into Arabia, 144, 320, 321, and Judæa, 145; he takes Jerusalem, enters the temple and the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, 147; after having reduced Pontus, he returns to Rome, 322; he receives the honour of a triumph, ibid.; after his defeat at Pharsalia, he retires into Egypt, 332; he is killed, 333.

Pontus, kingdom of Asia Minor, i. 22, 130; chronological abridgement of the history of the kings of Pontus, ibid.

Popilius (C.) is sent into Egypt, v. 476; which obliges Antiochus to quit, and leave the two brothers, Ptolemies, in possession of it, 482; is sent into Peloponnesus to publish the decree of the senate in favour of the Greeks, 541.

Porphyry, a learned pagan, an enemy of Christianity, v. 509.

Porus, Indian king, defeated and taken prisoner by Alexander, who restores him his dominions, iv. 308.

Posts: invention of posts and couriers, ii. 54, 104.

Pothinus, Ptolemy's minister, dethrones Cleopatra, vi. 332; advises the death of Pompey, 333; endeavours to render Cæsar odious, 335; he prevents the effect of Cæsar's decree, and makes the Egyptians take arms against him, 337; Cæsar puts him to death, 338.

Potidæa, city of Macedonia, revolts against the Athenians, iii. 431, who

besiege and take it, ibid.; Philip takes it from the Athenians, iv. 48.
Poverty, love of poverty instituted at Sparta, iii. 285.
Power, or *Rule*, the spirit of it, how umbrageous, vi. 249.
Prexaspes, confident of Cambyses, kills Smerdis by his order, ii. 79; his base and monstrous flattery of Cambyses, ibid.; promises to declare Smerdis the Magus the true son of Cyrus, 86; speaks to the people from the top of a tower, and declares the contrary; then throws himself down and is killed, ibid.
Priapatius, son of Arsaces II. king of Parthia, vi. 154.
Priene, city of Ionia, ii. 428.
Princes.—See Kings.
Procles reigns at Sparta with his brother Eurysthenes, i. cx.
Proculeius, Roman officer, comes to Cleopatra in her retirement, and advises her to put herself into Cæsar's hands, vi. 364; he makes himself master of the person of that princes, ibid.; Cæsar orders him to ask her what she desires of him, ibid.
Prodicos, name given to the guardians of the kings of Sparta, i. cxii.
Proteus, king of Argos, ii. 160.
Promachus, one of Alexander's officers, dies in a debauch with that prince, iv. 333.
Prophecies in respect to Pharaoh Hophra and the Egyptians, i. 79, &c.; prophecies concerning Nineveh, 340; Babylon, ii. 30; Cyrus, 33; Alexander, 60; Tyre, iv. 192; Antiochus the Great, v. 406, &c.; Seleucus Philopator, 467; Antiochus Epiphanes, 500; Jacob's prophecy concerning the Messiah, vi. 152.
Prosperity: proof to which it puts the soul, i. 361; train of prosperity, iii. 204.
Protagoras, brother of Nicocles, expels Evagoras II. from Salamin, and reigns in his stead, iv. 16; confirmed by Ochus, 20.
Protagoras of Abdera, his opinion of the divinity, iii. 39; expelled Athens, and his works caused to be burnt, ibid.
Proteus, Macedonian; Alexander drinks his health in the bowl of Hercules, iv. 349.
Proteus, king of Egypt, stops Helen and restores her to Menelaus, i. 65.
Prothous, senator of Sparta, opposes the war with the Thebans, but is disregarded, iii. 457.
Protogenes, famous painter: Demetrius's regard for him during the siege of Rhodes, v. 488.
Protomachus, one of the Athenian generals that gained the victory near the islands of Arginusæ, and were condemned at their return, iii. 102, 108.
Providence: discourse of Socrates upon providence, iii. 245, 246.
Proxenes of Bœotia, officer in the army of young Cyrus, iii. 140; seized by treachery, and put to death, 158; his character, ibid.
Prusias I. king of Bithynia, i. cxxviii.
Prusias II. king of Bithynia, surnamed *the Hunter*, declares for the Romans against Antiochus, v. 370; makes war against Eumenes, i. 245; services done him by Hannibal, ibid. 294; who, notwithstanding, agrees to deliver him up to the Romans, ibid.; desires the Romans to grant Perseus a peace, 412; his abject flattery in the senate, vi. 15; war with Attalus, 19; the senate obliges him to desist and make satisfaction, 20; intending to put his son Nicomedes to death, is killed by him, 21.
Prytanis, name of the chief magistrate of Corinth, ii. 166.
Psammenitus, king of Egypt, is conquered by Cambyses, who used him with clemency, i. 85, ii. 75; but striving to regain the throne, is put to death, i. 85, ii. 76.
Psammis, king of Egypt, i. 85.
Psammitichus, one of the twelve kings in Egypt, is banished, i. 78; defeats the other eleven, and remains sole monarch, 73; makes war against the king of Assyria, ibid.; he besieges Azotus, and takes it, after a siege of twenty-nine years, 74; he prevents the Scythians from invading Egypt, ibid.; his method of knowing whether the Egyptians were the most ancient people of the earth, ibid. &c.
Ptolemaida, daughter of Ptolemy Soter, is married to Demetrius Poliorcetes, v. 17.

Ptolemy, son of Amyntas II. disputes the crown with Perdiccas, iii. 474; Pelopidas excludes him from the throne, 475, iv. 42.

Ptolemy, son of Seleucus, is killed at the battle of Ipsus, iv. 169.

Ptolemy I. son of Lagus, one of Alexander's generals, takes several cities of India, iv. 298; he is dangerously wounded at the siege of a city of India, 324; he is cured soon after, 325; provinces which fall to him, 380; causes the body of Alexander to be carried to Alexandria, 400; enters into a league against Perdiccas and Eumenes, 403; becomes master of Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa, 410; he takes Jerusalem, ibid.; he forms a league against Antigonus, 446; seizes the island of Cyprus, 449; defeats Demetrius, 450, and takes Tyre, ibid.; defeat of one of his generals by Demetrius, 451; different expeditions of Ptolemy against Antigonus, 458, 459; Ptolemy is defeated by Demetrius, who takes from him the isle of Cyprus, 469; Ptolemy assumes the title of king, 470; sends aid to the Rhodians, 480, 483; who, in gratitude, give him the title of *Soter*, 488; Ptolemy allies himself with Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, against Antigonus and Demetrius, 494; these four princes divide the empire of Alexander amongst them, v. 1; Ptolemy retakes the island of Cyprus, 10; he renews the league with Lysimachus and Seleucus against Demetrius, 12; he abdicates the throne to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus, 20; death of Ptolemy Soter, 25; praise of that prince, ibid.; famous library which he caused to be erected at Alexandria, 22.

Ptolemy II. surnamed *Philadelphus*, is placed by his father Ptolemy Soter upon the throne of Egypt, v. 20; feast which he gave the people on his accession to the crown, ibid.; the commencement of his reign, 36; his resentment against Demetrius Phalereus, 37; causes the holy Scriptures to be translated into Greek, 50; cultivates the amity of the Romans, 87; his liberality to the Roman ambassadors, 88; sends aid to the Athenians, 89; revolt of Magas, 90; Ptolemy quells a conspiracy formed against him, ibid.; works of Ptolemy of advantage to commerce, 94; comes to an accommodation with Magas, 95; war between Ptolemy and Antiochus, 96; peace between those princes, ibid.; death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 102; character and qualities of that prince, ibid.; his taste for the arts and sciences, 95, 100; his application to make commerce flourish in his dominions, 94.

Ptolemy III. surnamed *Evergetes*, succeeds his father Ptolemy Philadelphus, v. 102; for the death of his sister Berenice, puts Laodice to death, and seizes part of Asia, 107; in returning from that expedition, he goes to Jerusalem, and offers sacrifices there to the God of Israel, 108: league of Antiochus Hierax and Seleucus Callinicus against Ptolemy, 110; the latter comes to an accommodation with Seleucus, 112; he causes Antiochus to be seized, and imprisons him, 114; he augments the library of Alexandria, ibid.; he gives Joseph, the nephew of Onias, the farm of the revenues of the provinces of Cœlosyria, Phœnicia, Judæa, and Samaria, 176; arrival of Cleomenes at the court of Egypt, 176; death of Ptolemy Evergetes, 177; Ptolemy's liberality to the Rhodians, 178.

Ptolemy IV. surnamed *Philopator*, ascends the throne of Egypt, after the death of Ptolemy Evergetes, v. 177, 179; injustice and cruelty of that prince to Cleomenes, 204, 205; Antiochus the Great undertakes to recover Cœlosyria from Ptolemy, 182, 183; short truce between those two princes, 190; Ptolemy gains a victory over Antiochus at Raphia, 194; he comes to Jerusalem, 195; rage and revenge of Ptolemy against the Jews, because they refuse to let him enter into the sanctuary, 195, 196; he grants Antiochus peace, ibid.; the Egyptians revolt against Philopator, 198; that prince gives himself up to all manner of excesses, 199; he puts Arsinoe, his wife and sister, to death, ibid.; he dies, worn out with debauches, 275.

Ptolemy V. called Epiphanes, at the age

of five years ascends the throne of Egypt, after the death of Philopator, v. 276; Antiochus the Great and Philip enter into a league to invade his dominions, 278; Ptolemy is put under the guardianship of the Romans, 285; Aristomenes, the young king's guardian for the Romans, takes Palestine and Cœlosyria from Antiochus, 296; Antiochus takes those provinces, 298; Scopas's conspiracy against Ptolemy frustated by Aristomenes, 328; Ptolemy is declared of age, ibid.; he marries Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus, 342; he makes an alliance with the Achæans, v. 411; he treats Hyrcanus, the son of Joseph, with great marks of favour and friendship, 412; he takes a disgust to Aristomenes, and puts him to death, 327, 412: he abandons himself to all sorts of excesses, ibid.; the Egyptians form several conspiracies against him, ibid.; Ptolemy chuses Polycrates for his prime minister, 413; with that minister's assistance, he gets the better of the rebels, ibid.; he renews the alliance with the Achæans, ibid.; he forms the design of attacking Seleucus, 437; the principal persons of his court poison him, ibid.

Ptolemy VI. called Philometer, at six years old, succeeds his father Ptolemy Epiphanes, v. 438; cause of war arises between Ptolemy and Antiochus Epiphanes, 471; coronation of Ptolemy, ibid.; he is defeated by Antiochus, 473; he loses a second battle against Antiochus, and is taken prisoner, 474; the Alexandrians elect his brother Ptolemy Evergetes II. surnamed also *Physcon*, in his place, 476: Antiochus replaces Philometer in appearance upon the throne, 479; the two brothers unite and reign jointly, ibid.; the Romans prevent Antiochus from disturbing them, 482; Philometer is dethroned by his brother Physcon, vi. 59; he goes to Rome to implore the Romans' clemency, ibid.; the senate divide the kingdom between the two brothers, 61; new differences arise between Philometer and Physcon, 62; Philometer refuses to evacuate the island of Cyprus, ibid.; he gains a victory over Physcon, and takes him prisoner, 63; he pardons him, and restores him his dominions, ibid.; he marries his daughter Cleopatra to Alexander Bala, 71; he permits Onias to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt, 72; he marches to the aid of Alexander his son-in-law, attacked by Demetrius, 73; Ammonius's plot against Ptolemy, ibid.; upon the refusal of Alexander to deliver up that traitor, Philometer takes his daughter from him, gives her to Demetrius, and aids him in re-ascending his father's throne, ibid.; Philometer's death, 74.

Ptolemy VII. called *Evergetes* II. and Physcon, son of Ptolemy Epiphanes, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt in his eldest brother's stead, v. 476; the two brothers unite and reign jointly, 479; they prepare to defend themselves against the attacks of Antiochus, 480; the Romans oblige that prince to leave those two princes in tranquillity, 482; Physcon dethrones Philometer, vi. 61; the Romans divide the kingdom between the two brothers, 62; Physcon, dissatisfied with the part given him, goes to Rome, and demands to be put in possession of the island of Cyprus, ibid.; the Romans adjudge it to him, ibid.; the people of Cyrenaica oppose Physcon's entrance into this country, 62; that prince re-establishes himself in that country, and draws attempts against his life upon himself by his bad conduct, ibid.; he makes a second voyage to Rome, and carries his complaints thither against his brother, 62, 63; he undertakes to make himself master of the island of Cyprus, 63; Philometer beats and takes him prisoner, and afterwards generously restores him his dominions, ibid.

Physcon marries Cleopatra, the widow of Philometer, ascends the throne of Egypt, and puts his brother's son to death, vi. 74; Physcon's excess of folly and debauchery, 85; Scipio Africanus the younger goes to that prince's court, 87; Physcon puts away Cleopatra, and marries her daughter, by Philometer, named also Cleopatra, 97; horrible cruelties which he commits in Egypt, 98;

a general revolt reduces him to quit that kingdom, ibid.; new cruelties of Physcon, 99; he returns into Egypt, and re-ascends the throne, 100; he supports the impostor Alexander Zebina, and lends him an army to place him upon the throne of Syria, ibid.; he gives his daughter Tryphena in marriage to Grypus, 103; Physeon's death, 104.

Ptolemy VIII. called *Lathyrus*, succeeds his father Physcon, vi. 104; Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate his eldest sister, and marry Selena his youngest, 105; Lathyrus aids Antiochus the Cyzicenian, against John Hyrcanus, 107; Cleopatra takes her daughter Selena from Lathyrus, and obliges him to quit Egypt, and content himself with the kingdom of Cyprus, 111; Lathyrus sends an army to oblige Ptolemais, and marches in person against Alexander king of the Jews, over whom he gains a great victory, 112; barbarous action of Lathyrus after the battle, ibid.; he raises the siege of Ptolemais, 113; he is recalled by the Alexandrians, and replaced upon the throne of Egypt, 117; a rebellion rises up against him in Egypt, 118; Lathyrus destroys Thebes, whither the rebels had retired, ibid.; he dies soon after, ibid.

Ptolemy IX. king of Egypt. See Alexander son of Physcon.

Ptolemy X. son of Alexander I. king of Egypt. See Alexander II.

Ptolemy XI. surnamed *Auletes*, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt, in the room of Alexander II. vi. 125; he causes himself to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman people, by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey, 323; he oppresses his subjects in consequence with taxations, ibid.; he is dethroned, ibid.; the Alexandrians substitute Berenice in his place, 324; he goes to Rome, and with money gains the suffrages of the principal persons of the commonwealth, for his re-establishment, 325; he causes most of the ambassadors, sent by the Egyptians to Rome to justify their revolt, to be murdered, ibid.; an oracle of the Sybil is trumpt against him, 326; Gabinius reinstates him upon the throne, 330; Auletes puts his daughter Berenice to death, 331; his ingratitude and perfidy to Rabirius, ibid.; death of Auletes, 332.

Ptolemy XII. son of Ptolemy Auletes, reigns after his father with his sister Cleopatra, vi. 332; he expels Cleopatra, ibid.; he causes Pompey to be assassinated by the advice of Theodotus, 333, 334; Cæsar makes himself judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, 335; he secures the person of Ptolemy, 336; he releases him, 340; Ptolemy renews the war against Cæsar, ibid.; he is defeated, and drowned in the Nile, endeavouring to escape, 342.

Ptolemy I. king of Cyprus, brother of Auletes, is deposed by the Romans, vi. 130; he poisons himself, 131.

Ptolemy II. son of Auletes, is made king of Cyprus by Cæsar, vi. 337; also of Egypt jointly with Cleopatra, 342; she poisons Ptolemy.

Ptolemy, son of Anthony and Cleopatra, is proclaimed king of Syria by Anthony, vi. 352.

Ptolemy Apion, natural son of Physcon, is made king of Cyrenaica, vi. 104; he leaves his kingdom, by will, to the Romans, 115.

Ptolemy Ceraunus, or *Thunder*, son of Ptolemy Soter, quits the court, and retires to Lysimachus, and then to Seleucus, v. 38, 20; he engages the latter in a war with Lysimachus, 38; he assassinates Seleucus, and seizes his dominions, 41; marries his sister Arsinoe, widow of Lysimachus, and causes his two children by her to be murdered, 43, 44; banishes her, ibid.; and is soon after killed by the Gauls, 45.

Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cyprus under Ptolemy Philometer, revolts and gives the possession of it to Antiochus Epiphanes, vi. 474; Antiochus gives him a share in his confidence, and the government of Cœlosyria and Palestine, ibid.; marches against the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, 495; becomes a friend to the Jews, vi. 56; Epiphanes Antiochus deprives him of his government, ibid.; and he in despair poisons himself, ibid.

Ptolemy, son of Pyrrhus, is killed in a battle against the Lacedæmonians, v. 82.

Ptolemy, one of Philip's officers, unites with Apelles in his conspiracy against that prince, v. 222, 223; for which he is put to death, 225.

Pul, king of the Assyrians, does penance upon the preaching of Jonah, i. 313.

Pulcher (*P. Claudius*) consul, is beaten at sea by Adherbal, the Carthaginian general, i. 165.

Punick, origin and signification of that word, i. 88; Punick wars, 149, 179, 256.

Pydna, city of Macedonia, is subjected by Philip, iv. 48; famous victory gained by Paulus Æmilius over Perseus, near that city, v. 567.

Pylagori, among the Greeks, who, iv. 94.

Pylus, a city of Messenia, taken by the Athenians, ii. 494.

Pyramid: description of the Pyramids of Egypt, i. 6, 66; judgement to be formed of those famous structures, 7.

Pyrrhus, Ætolian general, twice beaten by Philip, v. 240.

Pyrrhus, son of Æacides king of Epirus, flies from the fury of the revolted, v. 7; he is re-established upon the throne of Epirus, by Glaucius king of Illyrium, ibid.; the Molossians revolt against him, and plunder all his riches, ibid.; he retires to Demetrius, son of Antigonus, ibid.; he distinguishes himself at the battle of Ipsus, iv. 496, v. 8; he goes to Egypt as an hostage for Demetrius, 8; he marries Antigone, daughter of Berenice, 9; Ptolemy gives him a fleet and money, of which he makes use for repossessing himself of his dominions, ibid.; Pyrrhus takes Macedonia from Demetrius, and is declared king of it, 13; he divides that kingdom with Lysimachus, 15; he is soon obliged to quit it, 16; the Tarentines call in Pyrrhus to their aid against the Romans, 54; that prince goes to Italy, 57; he defeats the consul Livinus, 60; he causes proposals of peace to be made to the Romans, ibid.; conversation of Pyrrhus with Fabricius, 62; Pyrrhus gains a second advantage over the Romans, 70, 71; expeditions of Pyrrhus in Sicily, 71. i. 149; he returns into Italy, v. 72, 73; he plunders the temple of Proserpine, in the country of the Locrians, 74; he is defeated by the Romans, 75; he returns into Epirus, 76; he throws himself into Macedonia, and makes himself master of it for a time, after having defeated Antigonus, 77; expedition of Pyrrhus into Peloponnesus, 77; he besieges Sparta ineffectually, 78; he is killed at the siege of Argos, 85; good and bad characters of Pyrrhus, 14, 53, 85, &c.

Pythagoras, Lacedæmonian, commands part of the fleet of Cyrus the younger in the expedition of that prince against his brother Artaxerxes, iii. 140.

Pythagoras, son of Evagoras, defends the city of Salamin, besieged by Artaxerxes, during his father's absence, iii. 216.

Pythagoras, philosopher, ii. 454; goes to Italy and settles at Crotona, where he opens a school of Philosophy, 454; noviciate of silence which he made his disciples observe, ibid.

Pytharchus, of Cyzicum, gains the favour of Cyrus, who gives him the revenues of seven cities for a pension, ii. 119.

Pytheas, rashly engages the Bœotians to unite against the Romans, vi. 34; put to death by Metellus, 35.

Pytheas, famous astronomer, vi. 26.

Pytheas, friend of Damon: trial of their friendship, iii. 382.

Pythia, priestess of Apollo at Delphos, i. 41.

Pythic games: celebrated games of Greece, i. 50.

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Theano, priestess at Athens, refuses to curse Alcibiades, iii. 39.

Thearides, brother of Dionysius, sent to Olympia to dispute the prizes of poetry and the chariot-race, iii. 376.

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Theodotus, governor of Bactriana, revolts against Antiochus, and gets himself declared king, v. 97; he dies, 113.

Theodotus, son of the former, succeeds his father, and makes a league with Arsaces, v. 113.

Theodotus is charged by Antiochus with the war against Milo, v. 183; he is defeated, and obliged to abandon the field of battle, ibid.

Theodotus, Ætolian, governor of Cœlosyria for Ptolemy, defends it against Antiochus, whom he obliges to retire, v. 183; he is accused, and obliged to go to the court of Egypt, to give an account of his conduct, 190; in resentment for that affront, he declares for Antiochus, and puts the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais into his hands, 191; enters the camp of Ptolemy in the night with design to kill him, 194; he fails in that attempt, and escapes to his camp, ibid.

Theodotus, of Syracuse, conspires against Hieronymus, is put to the rack, and dies without discovering his accomplices, vi. 217.

Theodotus, preceptor to the last Ptolemy, advises him to kill Pompey, vi. 333; presents the head of that Roman to Cæsar, 335.

Theogiton, of Megara, his advice after the battle of Platæa, ii. 350.

Theophrastus, Antigonus's general, refuses to quit Corinth, v. 130; Aratus causes him to be put to death, ibid.

Theophrastus, philosopher, his dispute with an old woman of Athens in buying something of her, iii. 334.

Theopompus, king of Sparta, establishes the Ephori, ii. 173; commands against the Argives, i. cxii.; and against the Messenians, cxiv; he is defeated, and put to death by Aristomenes, cxviii.

Theopompus, disciple of Isocrates, gains the prize of eloquence over his master, and has the weakness and vanity to brag of it, iii. 113.

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Theramenes, Athenian general, charged with the care of burying the dead after the battle of the Arginusæ, iii. 105; not being able to execute that order, he makes the other generals responsible for it, and accuses them at Athens, 106; he is deputed to Lysander, during the siege of Athens, 107; opposes the violence of his colleagues, and draws their hatred upon himself, iii. 128; accused by Critias, and put to death, 129.

Therma, capital of Ætolia, taken by

surprise, and ravaged by Philip, by surprise, v. 217.

Thermopylæ, pass of mount Æta, in Thessaly, ii. 321; battle there between the Lacedæmonians and Xerxes, 322; victory of the Romans over Antiochus near Thermopylæ, v. 361.

Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum, makes an alliance with Gelon, and gains, in conjunction with him, a great battle over the Carthaginians, ii. 442.

Theseus, king of Athens, ii. 164; dies in the island of Scyros, whither he had been obliged to fly, 390; Cimon brings his bones to Athens, ibid.

Thesmothetæ, Athenian magistrates, iii. 307.

Thespia, city of Achaia, ruined by the Thebans, ii. 456.

Thespis, Greek poet, considered as the inventor of tragedy, i. lxxvii. 207.

Thessalonica, wife of Cassander, is killed by her son Antipater, v. 10.

Thessalus, third son of Pisistratus.

Thessaly, province of ancient Greece, i. 19; the Thessalians submit to Xerxes, ii. 320; they implore aid of the Thebans against Alexander of Pheræ, iii. 473; Pelopidas delivers them from his power, ibid.; they have recourse to Philip against their tyrants, iv. 59; that prince delivers them, 60.

Thesta, wife of Polyxenes, her noble answer on her husband's escape, iii. 368.

Theti, name of the lower class of people at Athens, iii. 297.

Thethmosis, or *Amosis*, having expelled the shepherd-kings out of Lower Egypt, reigns there, i. 57.

Thimbron, Spartan general, marches against Tissaphernes, iii. 170; upon some discontent he is recalled, 176.

Thirty; Council of thirty established at Lacedæmon, ii. 173, 184; thirty tyrants established at Athens by Lysander, iii. 118; cruelties which they commit in that city, 127; Thrasybulus drives them out of Athens, 130; they endeavour to reinstate themselves, and are all put to the sword, 131.

Thoas, Ætolian, falls in a design to seize Chalcis, v. 350; determines Antiochus to enter Greece, 353.

Thrace, province of Europe; very singular customs of its inhabitants, ii. 262; subjected by Philip, iv. 77; kingdom of Thrace after Alexander's death, i. cxxviii.

Thraso, confident of Hieronymus, is accused by Theodotus of having conspired against that prince, v. 217; he is put to death, 218.

Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, besieged by Halyattes, i. 345; frees himself by a stratagem, ibid.

Thrasybulus, brother of Gelon, reigns at Syracuse after Hiero's death, ii. 452; but is dethroned for his cruelty, ibid.

Thrasybulus, general of the Athenians, iii. 86; causes Alcibiades to be deposed, 99; he quits Athens to avoid the cruelty of the thirty tyrants, iii. 130; whom he expels from that city, and reinstates its liberty, 131.

Thrasylus, general of the Athenians, iii. 86.

Thrasymene: lake of Tuscany, famous for Hannibal's victory over the Romans, i. 204, 205.

Thucydides, Greek historian, sent to the aid of Amphipolis, iii. 8; he is banished for suffering that city to be taken, 9.

Thucydides, brother-in-law to Cimon, is set up against Pericles, by the nobility of Athens, ii. 417; Pericles prevails, and gets him banished, 420.

Thurium, city of Sicily: its foundation, ii. 457.

Thymbræa, city of Lydia, where Cyrus defeated Crœsus, ii. 15.

Thyrea, small territory of Greece, cause of the war between the Argives and Spartans, i. 7.

Thyus of Paphlagonia, revolts against Artaxerxes, iii. 225; is subdued by Datames, ibid.

Tiara of the Persian kings, iii. 504.

Tiberius. See Gracchus.

Ticinius, river of Italy, where prince Scipio was beat by Hannibal, i. 196.

Tiglath-Pilezer, king of Nineveh, aids Ahaz against the kings of Syria and Israel, i. 317.

Tigranes, son to the king of Armenia, obtains pardon for his father of Cyrus, i. 366, &c; he commands the Armenian troops, 370.

Tigranes, son of Tigranes king of Armenia, released by the Parthians,

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Tigranocerta, city of Armenia, built by Tigranes, vi. 276; Lucullus takes it and abandons it to be plundered, 295, 296.

Tigris, river of Asia, iv. 218.

Timæa, wife of Agis: excess of her passion for Alcibiades, iii. 41.

Timagoras, sent from Athens to the court of Persia, receives great presents, for which he is condemned to die, iii. 471, 472.

Timandra, concubine to Alcibiades, renders him the last duties, iii. 125.

Timarchus, tyrant of Miletus, is conquered and killed by Antiochus Theos, v. 93.

Timarchus, governor of Babylon, revolts against Demetrius Soter, and is put to death, vi. 65.

Timasion, is chosen one of the generals of the Greeks after the death of Clearchus, iii. 160.

Timasitheus, chief of the pirates of Lipara: his noble and religious behaviour, iii. 422.

Timcus, one of the principal Heraclidæ, re-enters Peloponnesus, ii. 167; Argos falls to him by lot, ibid.

Timoclea, Theban lady, iv. 133; her courageous action at the storming of Thebes, ibid.

Timocrates, friend of Dionysius the younger, marries Dion's wife whilst he is banished, iii. 398; he flies on the approach of Dion, 402.

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ZU

FINIS.

John Pillans, Printer, Edinburgh.